

VOLUME XII

MARCH, 1934

NUMBER 3



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A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
BY THE WILLIAMS & WILKINS COMPANY, Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A.
\$4.00 A YEAR

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SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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Published Quarterly

OCTOBER, DECEMBER, MARCH, MAY

For THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

By THE WILLIAMS & WILKINS COMPANY

Communications for the Editors, and all manuscripts, should be addressed to THE EDITORS, SOCIAL FORCES, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. Business communications should be addressed to The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Md.

SOCIAL FORCES

March, 1933 4

WHAT OF SUBMARGINAL AREAS IN REGIONAL PLANNING?

RUPERT B. VANCE

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IT HAS become tragically obvious that no one can go very far in the study of large-scale regions without coming upon the phenomena of submarginal areas. The philosophy of regionalism which has reached modulated statement at the hands of *litterateurs* has been able to ignore submarginal zones due, no doubt, to their preoccupation with certain folk and artistic values. But if the essence of scientific regional analysis consists in the delimitation, on the basis of various indices, of physical and cultural subregions the problem becomes apparent. Not only do these subregions show consistent differences; certain areas prove consistently subaverage on the basis of every significant index. Such zones of economic and social inadequacy have appeared in the course of the preliminary analyses of the Southern Regional Study and the Tennessee Valley Study. The method of inter- and intra-regional comparison presents its peculiar difficulties, but the setting up of certain norms below which submarginality exists is likely to prove an ungrateful task. It may be somewhat lightened by a review of the standpoint, definition and criteria of submarginal areas in agriculture. The problems they present have accordingly suggested in the present paper (1) an examination of the concept of submarginal

lands; (2) a review of the methods of locating submarginal areas; (3) a classification; and (4) an examination of the goals of planning for such areas.¹

THE CONCEPT OF SUBMARGINAL AREAS IN AGRICULTURE

Like many another concept in social science, the notion of submarginal agricultural areas is more often found implied in discussion than subject to formal definition. It appears on examination that there exist many margins; that while these margins are extremely elastic, their meeting in a complex relationship is necessary to the creation of submarginal areas. One may speak, it is found, of marginal land, of the marginal farm, of the marginal farmer, of the marginal farm-family, of a marginal type of agriculture, and of a margin in relation to conservation.

In its simplest statement one may say that on submarginal land production is carried on at a loss. It is customary to

¹ I am indebted to Evelyn and Lee M. Brooks for their unpublished annotated bibliography on submarginal areas, to T. J. Woolfer, Jr. for discussion on the method of locating such areas, to L. C. Gray for correspondence about the classifications of submarginal areas, and to Howard W. Odum and the Southern Conference on Optimum Production, Chapel Hill, N. C. for discussions of the concept of optimum production.

point out, as does the Land Use Planning Committee, that submarginal land exists wherever input exceeds output after allowances are made for depreciation, interest, and the labor of the farm family. Theoretically the margin is fixed at the point where the capital and labor employed on the land may be expected to transfer to alternative employment. Marginality of land is a function of its physical productivity, and the submarginal farm is one so poor that its meagre harvest offers scanty, if any, surplus above subsistence. While this concept inherits in economics by legitimate descent from Ricardo's classical doctrine of rent, geographers are able to make the greatest contribution to the location of the margin of physical productivity. Land utilization has been defined as the science and art of achieving the most effective use of land compatible with a balance of private interests with the public interest. Surveys of soil, topography, and climate are undertaken to determine the gradients of soil fertility, structure, and texture, of contour and slope, and of rainfall which affect cultivation in infertile, mountainous, or semiarid areas. Such land utilization studies lead to a classification of land into marginal, submarginal, and supermarginal on the basis of physical factors.

When one finds submarginal land defined, from a social point of view, as land on which the *average farmer* can not support a decent *standard of living*, there are introduced two other variables by which to gauge marginality—managerial ability and the standard of living. To speak of the average, subaverage, or superaverage farmer is to point to a differential in human factors and to make the management of the farm a functional variable. Thus we have the marginal farmer, an emphasis which might well lead to the study of submarginal social groupings, isolated inbred

communities, the so-called rural slums, and communities of the mentally deficient. Certainly variations in intelligence and managerial ability exist, nor can "hard unremitting labor" on the part of the marginal farmer be substituted successfully for management in agriculture.

It may integrate the concept to point out that both physical productivity and the management of the farm find final expression in a standard of living for a farm family. As this standard of living falls below certain norms the farm family becomes submarginal and theoretically the farmer is forced into alternative employment and the farm into other uses or abandoned. Actually this often fails to happen, and the land and social group continue as submarginal. If submarginality be related to the standard of living of the operator as well as the physical conditions of the land, another relative variable has been introduced. Thus, for example, H. C. Woodworth holds that a farm considered submarginal for a young man with a growing family and financial ambitions may be adequate for an older man who has reared his family and wants only independence and an income to support himself and family. Of all the functions of marginality the standard of living appears the most variable. "The continued occupancy of land submarginal for agriculture," L. C. Gray has pointed out, "is frequently prolonged by reason of the persistence of non-commercial standards of living, especially in mountain regions; by low racial standards, as among southern Negro tenants; or by economic and psychological inertia."

We may point to yet another margin. To refer the margin in land utilization to alternative employment of requisite capital and labor serves again to show that the concept embodies more than physical productivity as weighed in subsistence

farming. The transition of the physical production of the farm into a standard of living for a farm-family is mediated in the market and passes through the price system. Thus the delimitation of marginal areas is further complicated by the obvious fact that excess production weakens a commodity's position in exchange and lowers the standards of its producers below norms of comfort and decency. According to Professor A. W. Ashby, the English economist, the failure to reduce the number of farmers engaged in agriculture as rapidly as we increase their efficiency results in the creation of submarginal farmers. Even in progressive regions agriculture carries redundant persons. These farmers continue their production when it is no longer needed, and they suffer and society suffers. Thus overproduction in the market tempts one to speak of the marginal commodity or the marginal farming system. But here the concept again assumes form in that the incidence of increased competition falls heaviest on lands of lowest productivity, creating new submarginal areas under interregional competition and the principle of comparative advantage. If such farmers accept a lower standard of living, the incidence is masked and the farms continue to produce at a loss. Such an example integrates several margins and suggests further in the paper a classification of submarginal areas in relation to the market.

To alternative uses of capital and labor must be added the alternative use of the land. This margin may be extensive or intensive. According to L. C. Gray, the formula for locating the margin on farm land should determine "whether the particular classes of land under consideration can be expected to yield a return equivalent to what the requisite labor

and capital can command in alternative employments and leave enough for the land to equal at least what it would earn in the next most advantageous use, say grazing or timber growing." There are to be marked out margins, then, for each of the uses to which land may be put, agriculture, grazing, and forestry. By research it may be possible to determine such margins for each region, each type of farming area, and for each major crop in relation to its market position. O. E. Baker has pointed out the hierarchy of values that exists in land utilization from its highest value in urban building sites to its lowest in forest lands. The assessed valuation of land in New York City, for example, is more than a fourth of that of all the farm land of the nation. The value of land in relation to its classification offers one of the main indices of marginality.

From the long-run, social point of view we may point out another margin. Dean Thomas R. Cooper has said that certain areas may be regarded as submarginal because the present method of utilization is destroying all land resources for future use. This use of the term emphasizes public rather than private interest and sets up a margin of conservation over against the present productivity of lands subject to over-exploitation.

Implied in the concept of submarginal areas is the working hypothesis that the land involved has not yet reached its adequate utilization. This phrase should be interpreted as optimum rather than a more intensive or maximum utilization. In the present situation the optimum utilization of much land is more likely to be extensive than intensive. From this point of view submarginal areas may be regarded as consisting of:

1. Land whose optimum utilization

has not yet been achieved (e.g., Gulf Coast Prairies before the introduction of rice culture.)

2. Land whose previous utilization has been overthrown by a shift in prices or crop areas, etc. (e.g., Carolina tidewater rice area after shift to Coastal Prairies, etc.).

3. Any alternative concept must, it seems, be frankly one of land abandonment.

All our pioneering history, our population pressure, all our speculative optimism have tended to encourage the transition from extensive to intensive utilization. The American tradition is "from forest to farm." We have yet to obtain an orderly reversal of the process for areas whose existing farming systems have been overthrown by shifting margins in agriculture. From farm to forest, that is, from an intensive to an extensive utilization at present seems attainable only through costly and disorderly processes of tax delinquency, etc. The speculative motive can always be counted on for subdividing. The profits in land settlement have come from pushing land from one margin to another in the hierarchy of land values, from forest to farm, from farm to building site. Only governmental action can be counted on to assemble submarginal and tax-forfeit farms in blocks suitable for reforestation.

LOCATING THE SUBMARGINAL AREAS

Many of the previous studies such as those in New York State, of Wisconsin Cut-Over Lands, and the Michigan Land Survey have located marginal areas by small scale detailed surveys in the field. The experience of the Southern Regional Study suggests the localization of larger marginal areas on the basis of available indices of physical productivity, market value, etc.

The physical margins of land utilization

deserve first consideration. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics issued in 1933 a map of natural Land-Use Areas prepared by C. P. Barnes and F. J. Marschner. This map divides the United States into two main areas. The first of these contains very little land whose use remains unsettled; the second contains much land whose best utilization remains a problem. Little need be said of the land of settled use. In nine major types it ranges from land of demonstrated quality supporting remunerative agriculture in normal times to western grazing lands, to rough forest land largely in public ownership, to desert lands with no use indicated. It is not the contention that non-problematical areas are all good land; it is simply pointed out that where the land use is not debatable no submarginal settlements are made.

Problematical areas, on the other hand, contain much land whose best use as between farming, extensive grazing, forest production, or combination is still unsettled. Such areas, say the compilers, may consist of undeveloped land in which the desirability of needed drainage or clearing has not been demonstrated, or contain land on which farming has been marked by failure, rural poverty, erosion, and land abandonment. Often in such large-scale areas are found small land areas of good quality. These problematic lands are divided into fourteen types ranging from semi-arid plains in which the use alternates between farming and grazing because of unreliable rainfall to Gulf Tidal Marshes, Everglades, Gulf Coast Prairies, and Mississippi Lowlands in which the desirability of costly drainage operations remains doubtful. Certain forested and cut-over lands, highland and piedmont areas, also fall in this group. Two hundred seventy-two subareas are delimited, of which 122 are definitely problematic.

Turning to economic conditions one is

prepared to find the task of locating submarginal areas more complex. Over sixty per cent of the farms in the United States are less than 100 acres in size, averaging a capital investment of some \$5,350. The 1930 census figures show that only 34.7 per cent of American farms grew products totalling over \$1,500 in value. Approximately fifty per cent produced goods valued at less than \$1,000; 27.9 per cent at less than \$600; 15.2 per cent less than \$400; and 6.6 per cent less than \$250. These figures include the value of products sold, exchanged, and consumed on the farm. From these figures must be subtracted all expenses of production before we can presume any net incomes from these farms.

- Wherever one sets the norms such figures serve to show the widespread extent of submarginal farms. The location of these submarginal groups may be plotted on the basis of figures on the value of products grown per farm, the value of farm land per acre, the average value of farms. These figures are available by counties in the Census of Agriculture and have been given graphic presentation by such students as O. E. Baker and L. C. Gray. Experiments with adjusting the norms for a region in something like a normal curve of distribution lead to the selection of certain arbitrary norms for a region. Thus it might be found convenient to denote as submarginal those counties whose farms averaged less than \$2,500 in value of land, buildings, livestock, and equipment; whose annual product brought less than \$500, whose acres are valued at less than \$22.50 each. Subsistence and part-time farms in the highlands are likely to produce less than \$500 worth of products. Plantation areas because of small-size tenants' holdings are dotted with farms worth less than \$2,500, but the value of the land is likely to exceed \$22.50 per acre. Thus one index balances another and a regional norm for marginal farms

may be arrived at. Such data on farms should also be balanced against a ratio of lands not in farms, whether uncleared, cut-over or abandoned. Since contiguous vacant areas exercise a depressing psychological and economic influence on good land, it is desirable thus to balance the degree of marginality of crop land against the percentage of land not in crops.

The accompanying exhibit is intended to show just how far a regional study using available data on a county-wide basis may be expected to go. By inspection and statistical comparison the seven poorest agricultural counties in the Tennessee valley section of the Appalachian Highlands were discovered. The farm products sold, traded, and used average less than \$500 per farm for the year 1929. These counties are Polk, Van Buren, and Monroe in Tennessee, Cherokee in North Carolina, and Fannin, White, and Lumpkin in Georgia. Because of the presence of mining and manufacturing in Polk and Monroe and of Indians in Cherokee, the three counties were discarded. The four counties remaining have no mining, no manufacturing, no urban population, and are almost entirely white with from sixty-two to eighty-four per cent of the population dwelling on farms. Inspection of the accompanying statistical indices selected from data accumulated in the period 1920 to 1930 seems sufficient to indicate submarginality on any economic and cultural basis. (See Table I.)

Since submarginality is not likely to be county-wide because of the existence of certain subaverage strips and pockets of land, the location analysis should be further refined. Available indices on land utilization—crops, pasture, wood lot, idle and fallow land; on farm values—total farm, dwellings, land, and implements and machinery—can be averaged for submarginal areas by minor civil division. These smaller areas are then

TABLE I
A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF FOUR SUBMARGINAL AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS
(Based on data of period 1920-1930)

	VAN BUREN, TENNESSEE	LUMPKIN, GEORGIA	FANNIN, GEORGIA	WHITE, GEORGIA
I. Population and occupations				
Population 1920.....	2,624	5,240	12,103	6,105
Population 1930.....	3,516	4,927	12,968	6,056
Per cent change 1920-30.....	33.9	-5.9	7.1	-0.8
Density 1930.....	12.0	17.6	32.3	24.7
Number of families 1920.....	542	1,120	2,415	1,225
Size of family 1920.....	4.8	4.7	5.0	4.9
Urban population 1930.....	0	0	0	0
Average farm household 1925.....	5.1	4.5	5.0	4.9
Rural farm 1930.....	2,414	3,974	7,910	4,565
Per cent farm population.....	68.5	80.6	60.9	75.5
Per cent negro farm population.....	0	4.1	0.6	6.5
Value manufacturing 1927.....	0	0	0	0
All gainful workers 1930.....	1,106	1,523	4,135	2,121
Agricultural workers.....	640	1,116	2,384	1,619
Per cent of workers, agricultural.....	57.8	73.2	57.9	76.3
Unpaid family workers.....	144	147	1,043	625
Per cent of unpaid family workers.....	22.6	13.1	47.9	38.6
II. Agriculture and types of farming				
Number of farms 1925.....	427	883	1,523	752
Average farm household 1925.....	5.1	4.5	5.0	4.9
Per cent of tenancy 1925.....	25.1	40.1	27.8	44.7
Average size farm 1925.....	107	84	91	86
Average acreage in crops.....	30	21	19	25
Average agricultural income per farm 1922-25.....	\$494	\$113	\$85	\$226
Value crops 1924.....	\$384	\$329	\$300	\$444
Value of land and buildings 1925.....	\$1,456	\$758	\$1,152	\$1,152
Value per acre.....	\$15	\$9	\$13	\$18
Value per average farm 1925.....	\$1,999	\$1,025	\$1,472	\$1,816
Per cent of types of farms 1930:				
Self-sufficing.....	56.3	47.0	51.0	27.6
Part-time.....	8.8	1.3	18.5	5.7
Cotton.....		20.8		35.9
General.....	12.9	17.2	10.3	13.8
Animal specialty.....	10.8			
Average acreage per farm (all farms) 1930.....	106	91	89	91
Self-sufficing.....	78	90	90	88
Cotton.....		89		83
General.....	161	118	152	111
Animal Specialty.....	139			
Value land and buildings per farm (all types) 1930.....	\$1,703	\$1,053	\$1,469	\$1,582
Self-sufficing farms.....	1,301		1,203	1,219
General.....	2,725	1,336	2,320	1,824
Cotton.....		1,154		1,610
Animal specialty.....				
Value of products per farm.....	\$470	\$360	\$482	\$388
General farms.....	618	507	822	421
Cotton farms.....		414		515
Self-sufficing farms.....	319	296	428	207

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TABLE I—*Concluded*

	VAN BUREN, TENNESSEE	LUMPKIN, GEORGIA	FANNIN, GEORGIA	WHITE, GEORGIA
III. Social and economic data				
Per cent, age groups:				
Attending school, 1930 7-13.....	85.1	90.3	90.1	86.8
14 and 15.....	73.0	58.2	79.5	75.7
16 and 17.....	40.7	44.9	50.7	50.4
18-20.....	11.2	16.6	16.9	16.9
Per cent illiterate, 10 years and over.....	7.2	9.1	3.3	5.9
Bank deposits per capita 1927.....	\$26	\$35	\$23	\$49
Saving deposits per capita 1929.....		\$43	\$28	\$43
Postal receipts per capita 1927.....		0.81	0.30	0.49
1 income tax return per persons 1926.....	3,159	1,283	631	608
1 telephone per persons 1929.....	1,758	48.1	4,294	6,062
1 electric consumer per persons 1926.....	0	43.9	109.7	0
1 auto per persons 1927.....	25.3	16.9	30.8	16.3
1 magazine per persons 1929.....	41.3	30.4	61.0	38.8
1 daily paper per persons 1927.....		30.0	105.0	52.3
1 weekly paper per persons 1928.....		4.9	18.2	12.6
Number of retail stores 1927.....	14	30	85	55
Average customers per store 1927.....	232	167	149	110

fitted against the background of soil and topographical maps to further integrate the pattern of submarginality.

It also may prove of value to relate the submarginal zones to type of farming areas plotted from the data first provided in the 1930 Census. Both the dominant and secondary crop system are important. It is found, partly because of the peculiar census definition, that part-time and self-sufficing farms predominate in submarginal areas while general farms and dairy farms appear supermarginal. Any further interpretation of submarginal areas in terms of communities, topography, soil plots, transportation facilities, economic organization, biological and social adequacy will, no doubt, have to penetrate county and minor civil division lines and make use of field studies.

✓ A CLASSIFICATION OF SUBMARGINAL AREAS

Many classifications of submarginal areas are possible in relation to physical conditions, types of farming, or economic

conditions. The present paper offers a classification based on relation to the market.

AREAS ISOLATED FROM THE MARKET

Where isolated from the market, areas of bare subsistence appear. As in the highlands such areas were often settled in the pioneer period, and because of topography, unfavorable soils, social and intellectual isolation, backwoods standard of living have persisted in non-commercial farming. Furnishing a meager living below standards of comfort and decency and no savings, such farms may be self-contained but they are not self-sufficing in the real sense of that word. Often they are not self-contained in that the operator supplements low incomes by employment in "public works" and rural industries. After communication and transportation agencies are opened up, such areas remain isolated from the market in that they produce non-staple commodities not offered in the market or fail

to organize markets for their tenderable products. Nevertheless, such farms, partly because they are isolated from the market, have never been over-capitalized or mortgaged and thus offer a real type of economic security in that they carry no overhead charges except taxation. This security may be neutralized for succeeding generations by pressure of population which serves to force the farmer out on poorer lands and steeper slopes. In certain Appalachian and Ozark regions may be found the best examples of isolated submarginal areas. The South has a higher ratio of such isolated subsistence farms than any comparable area in the nation. This group has been recruited by the recent exodus from the cities.

AREAS BEATEN IN THE MARKET

Genuinely submarginal in the classical sense, certain areas grow staples at cost of production higher than the average long-run market price. Such cash-crop staple areas continue in existence by habituating their producers to a chronic low standard of living. Some of these areas, suggests L. C. Gray, were settled by would-be farmers who were beaten from the start because they made a poor choice of land. W. W. Ashe estimates that ten per cent of the cotton crop is normally produced on such submarginal areas. Moreover, the extent of such areas available for cotton is so great that a rise in prices always operates to overthrow any level of stabilization. Population pressure and the institutional heritage operate to keep the system functioning at sub-normal levels after it has proved economically indefensible.

AREAS SUBJECT TO ECONOMIC INCIDENCE AND CHANGE IN THE MARKET

In the present shifting, depressed state of agriculture lack of competence in eco-

nomic competition offers no proof of the submarginality of social groups. Thus, before the business depression, O. E. Baker estimated that there were two million men on farms receiving less incomes than men of no greater ability or invested capital in urban industry. Accordingly, submarginal farming areas can not be delimited on the basis of short-run economic considerations of the margin at which production takes place at a loss. To so delimit these areas would make it appear that Iowa, blue ribbon land area of the United States, is full of struggling submarginal farms. This is due to the fact that in relation to the market, over-capitalization and submarginality produce the same effect—deficient incomes and operation at a loss. The incurring of indebtedness leading to loss, bankruptcies, and foreclosure, after a fall in prices can not be regarded as a mark of submarginality.

Nevertheless, special conditions of economic incidence, if long continued, do create submarginal zones. Shifts in demand, changes in the prices of farm products, in agricultural techniques, in plant and animal varieties are constantly shifting regions of crop production and creating new marginal areas. The erection of tariff barriers, the loss of foreign markets, the transition from an international to a national economy also operates to create marginal zones. Increase in the cotton acreage in Western Texas has made many southeastern farms submarginal. Certain areas of the Georgia black belt offer another example of economic incidence. The severe initial shock of the boll weevil invasion destroyed the credit agencies that mediated between landlords and tenants. The severity of the weevil infestation passed, but credit relations could not be reestablished. Many Negro tenants migrated north, and the area became

submarginal. Cash-crop areas, export crop areas, areas devoted to expanding crops, are especially subject to economic incidence in the market.

AREAS THROWN ON THE MARKET

Increasingly significant in submarginal areas are lands newly thrown on the market. Cut-over lands, lands open to homestead, and lands offered for sale for taxes fall in this category. Cut-over areas, having exhausted their usefulness in the category of forested lands, are thrown on the market, classified as farm lands. Tax delinquent lands having failed under former owners are offered to new ones who may be inclined to take such speculative chances. Practically all of the remaining government lands open to homesteading are submarginal for agriculture. Irrigation and reclamation projects in the semi-arid West have unwisely thrown highly capitalized lands on the market. The largest portion of such newly created marginal areas are attributed to cut-over lands. Such lands are likely to be much lower in fertility than those cleared for settlement by earlier pioneers. The term thrown on the market may be taken as referring either to the land or its products which find their way into channels of trade. If not taken up, such areas when offered for sale lower land values and affect the capitalization of contiguous areas. If subdivided and settled as farms, orange groves, truck plots, etc., they throw unneeded products on a market afflicted with agricultural surpluses and reduce their unpractised operators to submarginal farmers. Tax delinquency of cut-over areas and adjacent marginal lands is often the result of the speculative optimism that seems inherent in our lack of planning. Such lands bought and held for speculative purposes are likely to become delinquent because

taxes must be paid by owners out of other incomes. Only where reforested can such land be regarded as held off the market. The land is retained in its original classification and the final timber crop is to be regarded as a replacement rather than a new supply thrown on the market. Only when actually taken over by the state rather than offered for sale are tax delinquent lands to be regarded as held off the market. The prevention of stranded settlements and the creation of new submarginal areas centers here about the new areas thrown on the market.

THE ABANDONED AREAS

Abandoned land areas represent mistakes in land utilization historically recorded.² They stand as tragic monuments to the westward course of settlement, interregional and inter-commodity competition, and to disorders of nature and nature's insects. With such exceptions as failures in dry farming, abandoned ranches, etc., all abandoned areas are found in the forested eastern part of the United States. It is estimated that about fifty-two million acres once considered agricultural have been abandoned in the Eastern United States. Historic examples are the earliest settled portions of America: New England, a classic example for fifty years, the Virginia Tidewater beginning at Jamestown, the Charleston and Savannah hinterlands. Many farms in the Southeastern Piedmont and Mississippi loessial bluffs have been abandoned because of erosion; the Charleston rice hinterland was abandoned because of a regional shift in crops; areas of the Georgia Black Belt were abandoned because of boll weevil infestation.

The final destination of genuinely sub-

² See Chapter by C. I. Hendrickson in *A National Plan for American Forests*. Senate Document 12, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, 1933, Vol. I.

marginal areas is abandonment. As costly as is the process of farm abandonment, in our present planlessness holds M. L. Vaughn, it must be regarded as the leading sign of progress in land utilization. In line with our present classification abandoned areas may be regarded as land taken out of the market. As a matter of fact, abandonment of farms appears as a first step in opening the land to alternative uses—forestry, recreation, parks, etc. The existence of abandoned farms suggests the approaching submarginality of nearby areas. The presence of such areas afford indices of unfavorable economic and social conditions. They increase the tax burden of settled areas and weaken community services and institutions. Land utilization studies are interested in the future use to which the land may be put, but a study of social groupings should attempt to follow the displaced farmers to see what adjustments they are making elsewhere.

PLANNING FOR THE SUBMARGINAL AREAS

To speak of planning for the submarginal areas is to abandon at the outset the dogma that the processes of *laissez-faire* work themselves out for the benefit of society as a whole. No longer is it possible to hold to that orthodox notion of marginal economics that submarginal lands and operators are forced out of production, thus restoring the economic equilibrium. There are many margins and, as we have seen, one margin so encroaches upon another that the effects are masked. The student of land utilization finds, for example, that poor land continues in cultivation by lowering the living standards of its operators, that present production continues by encroaching upon the future use of the land. Nor can non-commercial farmers who isolate themselves from the market be brought under the marginal dialectic.

That the continued existence of genuinely submarginal areas is socially undesirable scarcely admits of debate. Submarginal farming may be considered parasitic on three counts. It is parasitic on its worker in that it fails to provide a living wage unless supplemented from other sources. Many such areas are parasitic on state equalization of taxes for funds for social and community services as education and roads. In a number of school districts in the highlands of West Virginia, a study showed that state aid for school purposes was sufficient, if capitalized, to purchase all the farms in the area. Finally, many submarginal farms, at loss to themselves, continue to add to agriculture surpluses and thus threaten the security of farms above the margin.

Accordingly, the diversion of submarginal agricultural areas to other uses must take first place among the major goals of regional planning. The values to be served are indicated in the following outline.

GOALS OF PLANNING IN RELATION TO SUBMARGINAL AREAS

I. *Economic*: (1) Reduce agricultural surpluses and avoid long-time production in excess of demands by cutting out marginal producers (Not operative in self-sufficing areas); (2) Raise standards of living by transferring marginal producers (Where shall they go?).

II. *Conservation of Resources*: (1) Change land to its optimum utilization (Agriculture to grazing to forestry); (2) Provide for future timber supply; (3) Conserve soil resources by prevention of leaching and erosion and by the protection of water sheds and game conservation; (4) Provide for parks, recreation areas.

III. *Sociological*: (1) Conserve community life by promoting denser settlement,

creating firmer tax bases for social services and institutions; (2) Prevent future blind-alley settlement on marginal areas.

The means by which these goals may be achieved call for more extended treatment. L. C. Gray contends that "the essential foundations of future land policy must be laid in research" and the national policy should be a synthesis of regional long-time outlooks. Some of the factors to be considered are the income levels that justify land abandonment, including the relative value of labor and investment in other fields; the costs of moving to another environment which are social and psychological as well as economic; and the effect of occupancy or abandonment on schools, roads, and other utilities or dependent industries, and on the conservation of natural resources. The author holds that the redirection of economic life in subnormal areas should at present be undertaken only where there exists actual distress by reason of decay of agriculture or the passing of timber resources.

The National Land Use Planning Committee suggests the following program for submarginal areas in the Tennessee Valley Development. It may well be applied to other regions.

LAND PLANNING FOR TENNESSEE VALLEY

1. Inventory and classification of land resources on the basis of present uses and ownership.
2. Public acquisition of submarginal farm and forest lands, and of certain areas significant for water shed protection and scenic interest.
3. Bilateral compacts between Federal government and several states as to division of responsibility in the ownership and management of public lands.
4. Removal of population from truly submarginal areas with due consideration of interests and attitudes of those affected.

5. Decentralization of industry, the creation of new industrial centers to supplement marginal incomes by fireside and rural industries dependent on electrification, etc.

6. Control of speculative exploitation.

7. The reorganization of local governments.³

It remains to discuss the land policy and regional planning in relation to our classification of submarginal areas. In this treatment we shall begin with those areas which offer the simplest problems for planning and proceed to those more complicated.

AREAS THROWN ON THE MARKET

It is apparent that wherever possible these areas should be retired from the market. O. E. Baker has well presented the Department of Agriculture's official position that no further land development should be encouraged in the United States. The least the Federal government can do in the present state of agriculture is to abandon further costly reclamation and irrigation projects and to retire from homestead all lands likely to become submarginal. Wherever shown to be submarginal, tax delinquent lands should be taken over by the state rather than offered at public sale to lower land values and tempt speculators and unwary farmers to their ruin. The situation with cut-over lands offers greater difficulty, but, wherever possible, large timber corporations should be encouraged in reforestation and planned cutting programs, using as much of the available labor supply as possible. Subdivision and sale of these lands to prospective farmers at the present is clearly against public policy.

³See the discussion of the Tennessee Valley Regional Plan by T. J. Woolter, Jr., in this issue of *SOCIAL FORCES*.

THE ABANDONED AREAS

The first problem presented by abandoned areas is that of classification. Where classified as submarginal they offer first the problem of preventing resettlement. Where taken over by the state for delinquent taxes, resettlement should be prevented and the land should be surveyed for the determination of its future utilization in grazing lands, forests, parks, etc. Many farms which have been abandoned because of economic incidence, foreclosures, boll weevil infestation, break down of credit facilities, etc. can not be classified as genuinely submarginal. It may be found possible to settle on such lands submarginal farmers from other areas. Certainly the present quota and allotment system should not be developed so as to keep such supermarginal areas permanently out of production. What they have lost in temporary upheavals in the market, they may regain on the basis of land resources in the long-run readjustment. Most of the abandoned areas, however, should be diverted to other uses than farming as soon as feasible.

AREAS BEATEN IN THE MARKET

It is the areas beaten in the market that call for the most drastic reversal of our traditional land policy. Their continuance in production bodes no good to their operators, their competitors, nor to consumers. Nothing short of the purchase by the state of all genuinely submarginal farm-lands and their complete retirement for cultivation will meet the situation. In his annual report, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace suggests that it might be cheaper for the government to buy certain farm land outright and retire it from production than to continue the policy of renting such land as will be done, for example, under the 1934 cotton plan.

Speaking before the American Economic Association in December, 1933, R. G. Tugwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, proposed that the government buy up fifty million acres or more of land in four chief areas: (1) The Appalachian Highlands and Piedmont Plateau; (2) Michigan and Minnesota; (3) The western fringe of the Great Plains; and (4) Patches in eastern Kentucky; and by converting it into parks, game preserves, grazing ranges, etc., take it out of production. Thus, said Tugwell:

The area of land in production would be sufficiently limited so that it could be operated at its utmost efficiency without flooding markets and destroying exchange ability.

Such a system would envisage a commercial agriculture made up of the most efficient farmers operating the best of our lands with the remaining lands being used in other ways, and the remaining farmers devoting their time to other occupations.

Similar adjustments should be made for submarginal areas in cotton, wheat, tobacco production, etc. Only when the areas beaten in the market are removed as disturbing factors can adequate recovery be planned for normal agricultural areas.

AREAS ISOLATED FROM THE MARKET

No solution so clear cut or drastic seems available for areas of non-commercial and subsistence farming. The notion of submarginality, L. C. Gray points out, is a commercial concept developed in England where agriculture was and is highly commercial. The criterion of marginality, i.e., production at a loss—is difficult of application when production is not carried on for the market. Reference must be had to the standard of living and to the conservation of land resources. Wherever it can be shown that the standards of living in self-sufficing areas are low and progressively falling, or that the cultivation of sloping areas is destroying

land resources for the future—such areas should be retired and the population transferred. But to transfer this population to areas producing staples for the market is to increase the difficulties of agriculture. Moreover, at the same time this proposal is made it is being suggested that struggling industrial workers and commodity crop farmers be settled on self-sufficing farms.

Lately, L. C. Gray, J. D. Black, and others have reached the conclusion that there is too great a tendency to draw mechanical conclusions as to policy from the concept of submarginality. Gray believes that we should now go very slowly in attempting to eliminate submarginal land in the Southern Appalachians. For one thing these areas have undergone no such general farm abandonment as characterize certain other areas. Traditionally the southern mountaineer is trained in a self-sufficing mode of life: mining and rural industries bring part time employment on his "amphibian farms." When one thinks of the Alpine farmers one is inclined to place less emphasis on the limitations of nature and more on the capacity of man. The isolated farmer can diversify his diet, improve his cookery, use his spare-time for improving his housing and furnishings, local roads and schools, and for developing an improved wood lot. Above all he possesses leisure, precious goal for hard-driven mortals elsewhere. But after all, the main reason the regional planners doubt the advisability of transferring the farmer isolated from the market is that he and his production are not needed on any known market. If it can be made a question of transferring him for a less to a more productive self-sufficing area the problem is nearer solution. The difficulty here is that in the Southern Appalachians settlement is already as compact

as topography will permit. The Tennessee Valley plans quoted above with their emphasis on decentralized and part-time industries offer the most hopeful leads.

AREAS SUBJECT TO ECONOMIC INCIDENCE AND THE CONCEPT OF OPTIMUM PRODUCTION

The areas of economic incidence are best provided for under the program for the recovery of normal agricultural areas. Many of the difficulties attendant upon shifting markets will be much nearer solution when the submarginal areas are taken care of. Scientific research, agricultural extension, and agricultural credit facilities have provided for increased efficiency and production. So far has this program gone in making two blades of grass grow where one grew before that some wag has suggested that the time has come for farmers to support industrial extension workers who will lead unwary factory hands to make more and cheaper goods and thus overproduce their market to the advantage of their agricultural consumers. The agricultural adjustment program marked the first revision of policy with the realization that the control of surplus production had become more important than the increase of efficiency. Our pioneer history has left us the conviction that every forest should be converted into farms, the fallacy of maximum rather than optimum land utilization. Maximum production in agriculture has at last given way to a doctrine of minimum production. The time has come in our regional planning to develop an ordered notion of optimum production.

The outstanding difficulty in the application of programs affecting submarginal areas is that no clear need exists for further production in any of the agricultural staples. This means that shifts in agricultural areas cannot be dictated by the use for which the land type is fitted.

Thus certain areas might best be fitted for utilization in truck cropping, while at the same time an ascertainable surplus existed in that particular truck crop. Any proposal to encourage population movements from submarginal areas is confronted by a similar surplus of labor in other lines of industry and agriculture. To advocate the straightforward abandonment of certain poor land areas is to imply that industry somewhere, somehow can absorb additional labor supplies. This is not true at the present. This realistic view leads to several alternative plans each with its drawbacks.

1. The time-honored dogma of increased efficiency is an individual solution—not a solution for the group as a whole. It will increase surpluses, thus placing more producers in the submarginal group.

2. The advocacy of increase in self-sufficient farming, so-called "live at home program," may be shown by further research to lead the return to a backwoods standard of living for that group while at the same time decreasing standards for the group engaged in growing staples by reducing the outlet for their surplus production. This creates an imbalance which can not and should not be preserved at the expense of the self-sufficing farmers.

3. The administration's present program of equalized restriction of production serves to take both workers and land out of production. From the viewpoint of the producers it can be justified on the ground that it will distribute evenly an increased leisure while increasing returns per producer. From the viewpoint of land utilization it possesses the fallacy of taking out of production an equal amount of supermarginal land along with submarginal land. To continue to work this

submarginal land means higher costs of production which must be passed on to the consumers. This increased cost appears in addition to the higher prices encouraged by a straight pro-rata reduction of acreage.

4. Frankly, I wonder if these considerations do not lead us back to research on the concept of optimum production. Optimum production can be considered as a balanced maximization of production in which optimum land utilization sets one limit and optimum consumption habits of the population sets the other. H. R. Tolley has stated that the problem is to determine for each region the farming program that is likely to yield the best returns in the years ahead in the light of trends in the United States and foreign countries and then to coördinate regional objectives in order to prevent ruinous inter-regional competition. This concept recognizes the principle of comparative advantage in balancing crop regions and commodities against each other. Against this balanced maximization of production can be set a balanced maximization of consumption in which whole populations can be raised to higher levels of comfort and decency.

This principle of balance is functional, giving us a moving equilibrium of optimum quantities of commodities and prices when stabilized in relation to industrial production. I consider the optimum production concept implicit in the Agricultural Outlook forecasting of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. When perfected, this may be regarded as the country's farming budget, the National Agricultural Policy for the United States.

The scientific approach to this problem of balanced optima of production has assumed two forms at the hands of agricultural economists. They are:

1. *Market studies:* Supply and demand analyses of commodities in competition. The outlook program.

2. *Individual adjustment:* Farm Management Studies. The first is devoted to outlook estimates of commodity supply and demand, shifting crop areas, foreign trade, etc., the technical market analysis of the economist dealing with the price system. The second tells what farmers in particular areas on certain types of

soil should grow, how to lay out and organize their farms, keep books, etc. It deals with individual adjustment in relation to physical factors and the market. Each approach supplements the other. Given the retirement of submarginal lands and the adoption of an adequate program of land utilization and optimum production, the regional planner may yet envisage a stable and healthy agriculture.

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGIONAL PLAN

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THE NRA, the N. A. A., and most of the other measures of the present administration are emergency plans conceived in haste and applied under the pressure of dire necessity. The Tennessee Valley regional planning experiment is the effort of the administration to take a long look ahead, to plan coherently not so much for the present emergency but for a period of at least a generation.

It has been asserted by some opponents of the administration that the Tennessee Valley plan is merely a new kind of pork. A popular daily, published in a city which was then draining the five great lakes for its own benefit, asserted that the Tennessee River passes through five states and drains the finances of forty-eight. This viewpoint will doubtless be so strongly urged, particularly during the next few political campaigns, that it is necessary at the outset to review some of the national aspects of the experiment.

Regardless of the many reasons which may be urged for the choice of this upper mid-south area for an experiment in planning, the first cause for the selection of the area is that it centers around Muscle

Shoals, where, at tremendous expense, the government has acquired certain properties which have lain almost in disuse for ten years while the storms of partisan controversy have agitated Congress. The core of the engineering features of the Tennessee plan is an effort to return to the national treasury some of the funds expended upon the Muscle Shoals development. Nor is the return from the sale of hydro-electric power the sole use of Muscle Shoals which is of nationwide significance. Its nitrate plants were constructed to assure independence to this country in war time, but in peace time they may be used to produce the ingredients of fertilizer on such a scale as to be of nationwide benefit to farmers.

Another aspect of the experiment which is of vital national significance is that the operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the sale of electric power are designed to furnish a national "yardstick" as to power costs. As we enter the phase of civilization where both industry and home comfort are so dependent upon power, the determination of fair rates for power is a question of

basic concern throughout the country. At present controversies as to power rates are so involved with technical engineering details and corporate financial structure that it would seem that only the application of such an impartial yardstick can determine what reasonable rates should be. From this viewpoint the government should conduct this experiment in the production and marketing of power, just as it conducts other experiments of commercial value in its Bureau of Standards except that in this case its laboratory is an area.

Also, of more than local significance, is the effort to coordinate in one coherent plan the development of the optimum functions of a stream in power, flood control, and navigation. These three aspects of our waterways have not been systematically developed in respect to their interrelations, and experience gained along this line on the Tennessee River and its tributaries should be adaptable to other streams of the nation.

Again national significance attaches to the phase of the program which has to do with forest conservation. Here is one of the few remaining stands of hardwood and the land planning in the valley is designed to keep this great national asset for the people of the future.

An even greater national stake is involved in the efforts of the Tennessee Valley Plan to develop the region so that the maximum social benefit shall accrue to the people. These social phases of the enterprise are far more difficult than those dealing with the natural resources of the region, but in these efforts the Authority is approaching the very core of the problem of the reconstruction of our faltering economic and social machinery. It is apparent that any experience along these lines which proves beneficial may be adapted to other regions.

The first task is that of definitely bounding the area. The act gives the Authority the duty of planning for the drainage basin of the Tennessee River *and such adjacent territory as may be affected by the development*. This latter clause leaves the area indefinite,—to be defined by experimentation. In fact, one of the conclusions which may be drawn from the completed experiment may be the definition of the size and type of subregions of the country most adapted to planning.

As a matter of actual practice it seems that the various activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority will apply to different areas. The fertilizer program can easily be conceived as of nationwide application. The power sale program is necessarily limited to the radius of profitable transmission from the dams. Using a 200 mile radius of two circles centering at Muscle Shoals and Cove Creek as tentative, the area would extend from about Cincinnati to Charleston, W. Va., to Winston-Salem, N. C., to Greenville, S. C., to Augusta and Macon, Ga., to Montgomery, Ala., to Jackson, Miss., and into eastern Arkansas and on around to Evansville, Indiana. This would be a tentative boundary of the power transmission area, with the probability that, on account of a slowly developing market, the actual power operations will be confined to smaller sections of this area for a number of years. From the viewpoint of agricultural, industrial, and social planning it would seem more efficient to work in the homogeneous upper South areas lying in or immediately adjacent to the drainage basin of the Tennessee River. These would be seven in number,—the Blue Ridge and Smoky Mountain area, the Valley of the Tennessee, the Cumberland Mountains, the Nashville—Muscle-Shoals basin, the Birmingham mining district, the interior

ridges of Mississippi and Tennessee, and the Bluff section paralleling the Mississippi River.

This includes an area homogeneous enough to be planned coherently yet with sufficient variety to require local modifications of plans. The population is almost entirely native born, not only native to the United States but also to the South. For the most part the section includes the non-cotton, non-Negro, non-tenant South, though on its southern and western edges it embraces some territory where cotton is cultivated on tenant farms and by Negroes.

A rapid inventory of the resources and problems of the area reveals an amazing range and diversity of problems involved in the actual execution of plans.

Beginning on the eastern edge the Tennessee Area includes a mountain empire. Three major ranges, the Blue Ridge, the Smokies and Unakas, and the Cumberland lands have since pioneer days formed the barrier around which the currents of civilization flowed. In these mountains the planning problems are concerned with the evolution of a formula for land utilization, the proper balance between pasture, forest, and crop lands,—conservation, including fish and game preservation as well as reforestation, development of recreational and scenic resources and evaluation of the mountain cove communities with the view of deciding which should be eliminated and which developed.

NATURE'S STOREHOUSE

But the consumption of power presupposes industry and raises the question as to what the materials are upon which industry can be based. Foremost is timber. The mountain slopes are covered with forests of oak, hickory, poplar, hemlock, balsam, maple, and a number of lesser varieties. These make the eastern

side of the Basin so rich in timber resources that there is no reason for its people to have to import any wooden article whether it be tooth picks or piano cases. There are already embryonic furniture, pulp wood, and tanning industries.

Building stones are plentiful and varied. The granites of the eastern mountains are imperishable. The limestone of the valley is a pleasing material and works easily. Associated with it in spots in Tennessee are some excellent marbles and the Georgia marble deposits are just out of the Basin. Softer, but as pleasing to the eye, and as easily worked are the sandstones of the Cumberland plateau. Besides there are in spots excellent brick and terra cotta clays. The limestone of the valley in conjunction with adjacent shale deposits offers opportunities for cement production far beyond the needs of the present generation.

As to minerals, the Southern Appalachian coal field is entirely in the Cumberland Mountain section. Few of its most productive deposits are strictly within the drainage basin. But the Kentucky field is just to the north and the Alabama field is just to the South. Red iron ore is also in streaks throughout the Cumberland Plateau and Tennessee Valley, but is mined more in conjunction with the coal and limestone of Alabama than in Tennessee. Copper, with its by-product, sulphuric acid, is produced at Ducktown, on the Tennessee Georgia line, and is found also farther North in the Unaka Mountains. Zinc outcrops in several places in the Valley, and one of the largest zinc plants is at Mascot just north of Knoxville. There are also commercially important deposits of bauxite, manganese, barite, and other minor minerals.

Recently in the Tennessee Valley proper the cotton textile and rayon industries have had a brisk development, the chem-

ical properties of the water in some of the Tennessee tributaries being especially adapted to rayon production. At Alcoa the Aluminum Company of America has one of the largest production units.

With this variety of resources there is little wonder that the Tennessee Valley is already one of the foremost manufacturing sections of the South, sharing the lead in per capita value of manufactures with the Shenandoah Valley, the Cotton Piedmont and the Birmingham District. How much more intensive use will be made of these resources, some of which are little used at present, will depend upon the effects of cheaper power and improved transportation to be developed by the Authority and the expansion in the demand for these products.

DECENTRALIZED INDUSTRY

It is the announced intention of the Tennessee Valley Authority to scatter the industrial development as much as possible, endeavoring to build communities in which the companionship of agriculture and industry will give a greater self-sufficiency and stability to the lives of the inhabitants. Pointing the way to this ideal some natural development of small scattered industries has already taken place. In the Piedmont of North Carolina and the Valley of East Tennessee the industrial growth has tended toward small rather than large units. This for the most part has been caused by the movement of industry toward labor supply rather than the dependence upon the drawing power of industry to bring labor into large centers. The result has been that many of the industrial workers in these small units still live on farms, produce much of their food at home, and in periods of slack employment have a food producing homestead. Employers also find that labor so secured is dependable

labor which does not drift away in periods of unemployment.

Kingsport, Tennessee, was the result of a conscious effort to link the interests of agriculture and industry, and thereby stabilize the two. A little over twenty years ago Kingsport was an open field. Then the building of a railroad brought industry and it was decided to employ the members of the surrounding farm families in the plants. A rather varied group of small plants was established. Eastman Kodak has a chemical plant; there is a book bindery, a tanning plant, hosiery mill, cement company, brick company, and smaller enterprises, all employing laborers from the surrounding farms. As a result, Kingsport in the year of the depression, 1933, raised its community chest quota by eleven o'clock of the first day of the campaign.

DIVERSIFIED FARMS

The land resources are as varied as the minerals. Mountain farms dot the creek bottoms and coves of the Blue Ridge, Smokies, and Cumberlands. Some of their land is fertile, but its isolation from markets forces subsistence farming at a low level and gives rise to the famous moonshine activities of the region. From the especially isolated and unproductive areas of the mountains it is the hope of the developers of the area to move the people to more productive environment, leaving the mountains to game and forest preserves.

Between the Smokies and the Cumberlands is the broad rolling valley of the Tennessee River. Underlain with fertile limestone soil, this is one of the greenest and most productive farming sections of the South. The land is all taken by native white owners, no foreign born, few Negroes, and few tenants. Unlike the more southern South, the Valley is

not preoccupied with the race problem nor vexed with tenant farming. Crops are diversified and much of the live stock is pure bred. It is one of the potentially great dairying and meat producing sections of the South. Much has already been done to develop its resources by the aggressive farm demonstration program of the University of Tennessee.

Farther west of the Cumberlands another fertile farming section lies in the Nashville Basin. This more closely resembles the blue grass section of Kentucky, and is also a section of home owning white farmers who own much live stock. Southward toward Muscle Shoals the basin shades into a cotton growing section with more Negroes and more tenants on the land.

The companionship of agriculture and industry must be appraised from the point of view of agriculture as well as of industry. When the head of the family works in a factory the farm becomes more garden than farm. Nevertheless, the family budget is more stabilized and in times of unemployment the farm home and productive capacity is an anchor for the family, which holds the labor in the community, rather than forcing it to drift around in search of jobs.

Much remains to be worked out by experimenting with the adjustment of the seasonal requirements of industry to the seasonal requirements of agriculture and of evolving the most efficient farm practices to follow when the head of the family works as an industrial laborer. Of course, when the head of the family remains on the farm, and the contact with industry is made by one of the older boys who gets out the family car and commutes to the factory, the adjustment is not so difficult as when one man attempts to work at both vocations. At the same time, the

rounding out of the family budget is as satisfactorily attained.

The conscious promotion of this companionship of production from the soil and production from machines is a fruitful field for experiment by the planners in the Tennessee Valley.

A practical plan for aiding agriculture is involved in the use of Muscle Shoals for fertilizer production. The nitrate plants there were built primarily to gain independence in nitrate production in war times, but these plants are capable of producing fertilizer also. On the basis of experience gained in the construction of these plants for the government, private companies learned to make nitrate still cheaper. Now, however, the Tennessee Valley Authority has taken over new fertilizer patents which they hope will still further reduce the cost of production.

Dr. H. A. Morgan, in charge of this phase of the Authority's program, declines to follow the type of fertilizer mixture produced for profit. He has called together the soil chemists from all the southern Agricultural Experiment Stations with the idea that their experience will decide the types of plant food best adapted to their lands. Thus, a fertilizer program is to be evolved on the basis of the needs of the farms rather than from the profit motive.

INTER-REGIONAL DEPENDENCY

Much of the discussion of planning in the Tennessee Valley has predicated the development of self sufficiency. But the ultimate extension of regional self sufficiency would lead to an economic regionalism parallel to the present trend toward economic nationalism. To avoid the development of a separate unrelated region within a nation the interdependence of the Tennessee Valley and the other re-

regions of the nation must be worked out. There must be a profitable exchange. On the "exportable" side of the ledger we have noted coal, iron, zinc, copper, cement, timber, and minor elements. Add to these a fine grade of burley tobacco and a potential surplus of dairy products and the picture of the present contribution of the Tennessee Valley as a producer is apparent.

On the importable side, the distribution of cheap power should greatly increase the purchase of electric equipment, farm machinery, industrial machinery, raw cotton, clothing, and specialized foods. Out of this variety of trade a profitable interregional economy should develop with the Valley becoming more and more self-sufficient in the production of staple foods except coffee and sugar, dairy products and meats, cotton cloth, timber products, and primary products of steel and aluminum. Thus it is evident that the broad outlines of a regional plan will of necessity depend upon the relation of a region to a national plan.

UN-MECHANIZED INDIVIDUALISTS

The variety of scenery, minerals, and land is rivalled by the variety of people. There are two and one-half million in the basin proper, and five and a half if the adjacent areas surrounding Nashville, Birmingham, and Memphis be included. City dwellers of these metropolises, cove farmers of the mountains, coal miners, iron founders, marble and stone cutters, independent farm owners of the valley, Negro tenant farmers of North Alabama and West Tennessee, all go to make up the complex pattern of the population.

In the Blue Ridge and Cumberland Mountains the large families of two generations ago are the fashion. The average is four or five living children. The birth rate is exceptionally high and the death

rate exceptionally low. This means a natural increase in population greater than any other section of the nation. The excess of births over deaths in these mountains is more than 20 per thousand as against about 13 per thousand for the southern white population and a much lower rate for other sections.

Here population is pressing on natural resources. Notwithstanding this rapid rearing of children the meager agricultural resources do not hold the excess growth of population and as they grow up they move out. The decennial loss of the Blue Ridge section from 1920 to 1930 was about 50,000 and of the Cumberland section about 120,000. This number added to the losses of other rural regions of the Tennessee Valley and surrounding rural districts total over 400,000 laborers who, in ten years, were bred in the country but not absorbed by agriculture. These are available for city employment. Up to 1920 many of these were moving out of the South altogether, but since 1920 the vigorous increase of Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, Memphis, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and smaller cities have about absorbed all the rural excess. Here then is a section whose population is becoming self contained—not losing a great number to other sections, nor gaining a great number from outside.

One of the reasons making the people of the basin good subjects for such an experiment is that they have not formed the habits of mass production in agriculture as have those of the metropolitan area. Here traditions are those of a time nearer the beginning of the industrial revolution.

These are the complex ingredients of the new civilization to be planned: Vast electric power, varied natural resources, diversified agriculture, and a plentiful supply of unskilled but intelligent labor.

Almost any result can be obtained under auspicious circumstances. There are, however, difficulties.

Grant for the moment that the engineering problems offer no insoluble problems, that the flood waters can be impounded, channels deepened, and power dams and transmission lines built. There still remains the problem of marketing this tremendous increase in power output and in developing the industries to create this market which in turn implies the task of creating the market for the products of these industries.

DIPLOMATIC COMPLICATIONS

The initial step toward working out this problem as well as the other social and economic tasks involved was taken by Congress in creating a new type of administrative unit—the Tennessee Valley Authority, under whose direction the gigantic experiment is to be conducted. We have had "Authorities" before such as the New York Port Authority created to deal with specific duties delegated by states. But the Tennessee Valley Authority is the first to have general charge of the development of a region which lies in several states.

The Tennessee drainage basin embraces parts of six states and ninety-eight counties, and these governmental units presumably have been trying, for the past hundred years, to guide themselves toward social and economic progress, and in so doing have developed a set of institutions and organizations whose general aim is in that direction. They have systems of public health, public education, and public welfare. They have hardened a cake of custom which will be difficult to break through. The relationship of the states to the counties is defined. The relationship of the Authority to the states and counties is undefined

and will have to be diplomatically worked out before any real social and economic plan be executed on a broad scale. What, for instance, will be the Authority's relation to Union County, Tennessee, in which a large part of the reservoir back of Norris Dam will be located. About a fourth of the people of this county will have to move out when the waters begin to rise above their homes. A larger proportion of the best land will be flooded since the best lands are in the bottoms. A part of the county will be completely cut off from the main part by the lake. These are only the beginnings of an enumeration of the problems dropped on Union County's doorstep by the Authority.

Again, the Authority is interested in soil erosion, both because the siltage of the streams will eventually fill the reservoir and because the stoppage of erosion is a measure for preserving farm land. That being the case, they will have dealings with the national park and forestry services, but may go farther in attempting to promote more grazing and green crop coverage on farm lands. In the latter relationship they will deal with the farm demonstration agencies of the states of Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Just what is the relationship to be? Is the Authority to take the initiative and impose its plans upon the states or shall the states make plans for the Authority? The Act creating the Authority is not clear on this point.

To make the picture even more complicated the Authority deals with individuals directly, especially as farmers. They propose to work out a system of subsistence farming for the excess of miners in the Cumberland Mountain coal fields and to make such plans for improved agriculture as will build a new agrarian civilization.

Are we to have paternalism on a hitherto unheard of scale, or will the Authority be content with a patching up and speeding up of the somewhat halting methods and organizations which have been relied upon in the past for fostering agricultural progress?

This is a philosophic and diplomatic job of no mean proportions—philosophic in the task of setting up ideals as to what the Authority should work for, diplomatic in the necessity for working out the methods of persuading several million people to fall in with its plans and purposes. It is in this phase of their task that the Tennessee Valley Authority is pioneering in a field which may produce results which when tested may be applied to the orderly planning of other areas of the nation.

But the discussion so far has dealt chiefly with the more difficult and long time efforts to improve agriculture, industry, and the social structure. The T. V. A. has some immediate jobs on its hands whose performance is preliminary to other phases of planning. These are engineering jobs which have to do with the marketing of electric power.

The first of these jobs is to bring us Muscle Shoals' Little Brother. Norris Dam and Lake are the official titles, but to East Tennesseans they have always been Cove Creek and Big Valley. The construction, at Cove Creek, on the Clinch River just northwest of Knoxville, of this 220 feet high, 2000 feet long dam, is the first project of the Tennessee Valley Authority in its efforts to develop cheaper electric power for the Tennessee Drainage Basin.

In one of his western campaign speeches Roosevelt said that government ownership and distribution of power was a rod to be kept in the closet until the behavior of the power companies demanded its use.

The setting up of the Tennessee Valley Authority to sell Muscle Shoals power is a definite use of the rod.

Norris Dam is not primarily for the production of power except to a limited extent. Located near the convergence of the Clinch and Powell Rivers, two large tributaries of the Tennessee, it was intended to impound these rivers at their source in a storage reservoir which will serve as a catch basin for floods and as a supplement to the low waters in drought periods. The floods are caught at their source, stored, and sent down stream later in the summer low water periods.

The development of the full generating capacity of Muscle Shoals is dependent upon getting the average flow of the river through the turbines, but since the minimum flow of the Tennessee is only about ten per cent of the average flow, there is not now enough current at Muscle Shoals, at low water, to turn all the generators. When the flow is equalized by Cove Creek reservoir the Muscle Shoals minimum hydro-power will be increased four-fold over its present minimum in addition to the power generated at Norris Dam.

The two dams will be connected by a 220 mile transmission line designed to swap current and to distribute power along the way. Incidentally, the line will enable the government to bring its own power up from Muscle Shoals to use in the construction of Norris Dam.

The scale announced for the sale of power by the government at retail rates, which are supervised by the Tennessee Valley Authority, is 3 cents per kilowatt hour for the first 50 kilowatts, 2 cents for the next 150 kilowatts, and grading on down to 4 mills for large users. This means that for lights and minor appliances the small family will pay about 2½ cents while the average domestic consumer will pay about 2 cents. This rate

compares favorably with such municipal plants as Seattle, Tacoma, and Cleveland, and is about half of the 5.58 rate estimated by the Edison Electric Institute as the national average.

During the ten years since Muscle Shoals has been a football of politics, so many conflicting views have been advanced as to whether the government can or cannot operate it at a profit, that it is refreshing to see a start made toward giving the question a practical test, and at the same time inaugurating a flood control program and giving some of the people the cheap rates announced by the Authority.

The main weight of the engineering arguments brought against government operation of power plants at Muscle Shoals has concerned not the amount of power which could be generated but the amount which could be marketed in an area already served by private companies.

The sponsors of government operation depend upon two conditions to favor them in marketing. First that the power at Muscle Shoals was not new power but has been used to some extent already by the private companies. To this extent the marketing of power would merely be transferred from private to government agencies. The second factor counted on was that cheaper rates would increase the demand not only causing old customers to use more current but extending the use to new customers especially in rural areas.

Developments to date seem to confirm this analysis, as the most recent announcement of the authority states that an agreement has been reached between the Authority and the power companies to divide the territory amicably. The Authority has purchased all local transmission lines in a compact block of Northwest Alabama and Northeast Mississippi counties giving them a fairly large area around

Muscle Shoals. In addition they purchased lines in a block of six Tennessee counties surrounding Norris Dam. They will also serve any communities along the Muscle Shoals—Norris Dam transmission line which now have municipal plants or which are now without any service. This provides a market for all the current which can be sold from Muscle Shoals at present.

By this agreement a situation which was developing into a political struggle has, at least in its first phase, been changed to one of coöperation.

In this respect the power program of the Tennessee Valley Authority will serve to work out the long wanted "government yardstick" for measuring the factors in the cost of production of power and determining whether the original rates have been set too high or too low. The experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the next few years, carefully evaluated, should answer some mooted questions as to the cost of power production and distribution. Their cost is one of the most confused questions of present day finance. Not only does it involve hydro installation costs and costs of distribution but it also is involved with the intricate financing of operating and holding companies and occasionally superholding companies. The government yardstick will provide a simplified measure of costs.

At the last analysis experience gained by the trial and error process is the only method of arriving at the answers of these questions as to the extent of the market for government power.

What the Tennessee Valley Authority is faced with is not the execution of one plan but many. They are working on engineering plans, industrial plans, agricultural plans and social plans with the hope that they may in some measure be coördinated. For such varied planning

there is no precedent. Only experience will answer many of the questions. Chairman Morgan has estimated that at least twenty-five years will be required to complete some of the plans. Will the

Federal government be interested in planning for such a length of time or will Congress at some later date decide to return to the *laissez faire* method?

REGIONALISM VS. SECTIONALISM IN THE SOUTH'S PLACE IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

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I

THE assumptions underlying this discussion are that there are certain fundamental distinctions between sectionalism, such as the authentic earlier sectionalism of the South or Frederick Jackson Turner's equally authentic, historical, political, and economic sectionalism of the whole nation, on the one hand, and the developing cultural and administrative regionalism of the United States of the 1930's, on the other. Moreover, Professor Turner's prophecy that sectionalism in America was likely to increase rather than decrease seems well on the way to fulfillment in a sort of recurring "new sectionalism," which appears to be primarily a revivification of the older sectionalism rationalized into the "new regionalism." The common confusion of Turner's sectionalism with the newer prospects of regionalism is not academic and is of critical importance at this time. What the distinctions and their implications are and how important it is to turn this present trend toward sectionalism into realistic regionalism will be discussed in another paper. It will suffice here, therefore, simply to point to certain distinctions which have a particular bearing upon the southern regions in the national economy.

In the first place, regionalism envisages the Nation first, making the national cul-

ture and welfare the final arbiter. On the other hand, sectionalism sees the region first and the nation afterwards. Or, in Professor Turner's characterization, the section thinks "in other words, of the nation in terms of itself." This is no more nor less true of one section than another; no less applicable if leaders who happen to be in federal control interpret, to quote Turner again, their own particular sectional "culture, economics, politics, and well-being as best for all the nation."

In the second place, sectionalism emphasizes political boundaries and state sovereignties, technical legislation, local loyalties, and confederation of states "with common interests, menaced by federal action." Where sectionalism features separateness, regionalism connotes component and constituent parts of the larger national culture. Or, to use Turner's definition again, sectionalism is characterized by "those manifestations of economic and social separateness involved in the existence in a given region of a set of fundamental assumptions, a mental and emotional attitude which segregates the section from other sections or from the nation as a whole." Or still again, "the various sections of which the country is composed are thus seen as potential nations," and "the imagination stirs at the possibilities of the future, when these

sections shall be fully matured and populated to the extent of the nations of the Old World."

Woodrow Wilson made an even clearer interpretation of sectionalism from the viewpoint of the citizen and the nation at large. Although a southerner and ever eager to emphasize the merits of the southern genius and culture, he had little patience with sectionalism. "Any man," he said, "who revives the issue of sectionalism in this country, is unworthy of the government of the nation; he shows himself a provincial; he shows that he himself does not know the various sections of his own country; he shows that he has shut his heart up in a little province and that those who do not see the special interests of that province are to him sectional, while he alone is national. That is the depth of unpatriotic feeling."

In the third place, sectionalism may be likened unto cultural inbreeding, whereas regionalism is line-breeding. As I have pointed out elsewhere, "In the one case only the local viewpoint, contacts, materials, and resources are utilized, while in the other local resources are utilized with reference to all other possible materials; and, if matters of social policy are involved, local resources are utilized and developed through skills made available through outside coöperation and cross fertilization of ideas. Sectionalism inbreeds to stagnation by ignoring time, technology, and collaboration; regionalism develops new strength from old power through progressive line-breeding of new cultures, built upon the old." Another way of distinguishing the two: "regionalism might be conceived as a cultural specialization within geographical and cultural bounds in an age which continuously demands wider contacts and standardized activities; or it may be a way of quality in a quantity world."

In the fourth place, regionalism by the very nature of its regional, interregional, and national coöperative processes implies more of the designed and planned society than sectionalism, which is the group correspondent to individualism. Whereas sectionalism would abound in conflict, making necessary buffer issues or areas or fighting grounds "for breaking the impact of sections and of affording a means of accommodating rival interests and shifting the balance of power," regionalism would find its buffer and adjustments through the well planned, interregional balanced economy. Instead of the old and recent recurring questions, will the South or the West "fight," there would be substituted the inquiry as to whether the South or the West or any other region will *plan and work together* for the mutually better ordering of the common good. Fundamental also is the significance of accommodating the many subregions within each of the major regions through the regional and interregional approach of social planning as opposed to the revivification of provincial cultures and selfish interests. As is everywhere agreed, the old American unlimited free competition must now be replaced by something better, so also the old sectionalism of the nation must be replaced by a realistic, social regionalism.

Finally, one of the most critical aspects of sectionalism is the fact that it must have its counterpart in a potential, and in the full flowering of its development, an inevitable coercive federalism, which is contrary to the stated ideals of American democracy. Not only does sectionalism sooner or later, as Turner points out, constitute "potential bases for forceful resistance," and thus necessitate federal coercion; but it gives excuse for the theory and practice of dictatorship which ignores regional, cultural, and geographi-

cal differentials. Just as within the nation coercive federalism may become the objectionable counterpart to sectionalism, so sectionalism is analogous to the new economic nationalism as related to international economy. Manifestly, these are fundamental issues in the new period of recovery and reconstruction. They are of peculiar importance and of dramatic significance in the case of the South.

II

That there was no more important or difficult task, no more dramatic phase of American life, before the people of the United States than the adequate readjustment of the nation's southern regions to the new America was the assumption underlying a decade of regional study begun in the early 1920's. There was abundant evidence to indicate that the southern states, because of their incredibly rich resources, were capable of almost unlimited development provided they could eliminate the stupendous economic and social waste which kept them drained to poverty levels; could develop adequate technology for the utilization of physical wealth; and could provide adequate education and cultural institutions for the enrichment of human life. These tasks the South had not yet succeeded in accomplishing with either sufficient zeal or skill. On the other hand, the South, on the threshold of great promise, and having made tremendous strides forward, was by the late 1920's apparently unable to hold the position that it had gained with so much difficulty. There were also unmistakable signs of widening distances between the "South" and the "North" and "West" constituting one of the most interesting phenomena of American culture and a new problem as well.

Moreover, there was much evidence to indicate that the South was again veering rightward towards the old type of state

and sectional mindedness, wistful of its own peculiar civilization limited by geographical and traditional boundaries rather than seeking to develop a richer regional culture, merged into the national picture, but gaining strength from its normal regional advantages. There were also hidden evidences of a right-left trend, now toward unsuspected fascistic principles and now symptomatic of revolution, in the South's peculiar sectional phenomena. For instance, before Hitler's Nazi Germany the South was revivifying an emotional culture through its attack upon universities and intellectual life; through its religious coloring of politics and statecraft; through its appeal to sectional patriotism or regional nationalism; through its intolerance of criticism and opposition; and through its continuing emphasis upon racial issues, Nordic superiority, and one hundred per cent Americanism. The seeds of revolution appeared to be scattered, but abundant, in mob action, in class conflict, in protests against various units and activities of government, in frontier individualism, and in a considerable volume of radical rumblings under the guise of patriotic protest and traditional loyalties.

Of any such verdicts, whether true or false, the South was, of course, largely unaware. For here was one of those vast American regional empires vibrant with the emotions and unplanned activities of a great people, working heroically to overcome multiple handicaps, conscious of their power, yet also sometimes conscious of their limitations and need of help; now boastful, now discouraged, now troubled, now fretted by the severity of their critics and the handicaps and hazards of their fortunes. It was, all told, a paradoxical South, now rapidly developing, now receding, an eager and puzzled South trying to take stock of itself and its rôle in the changing nation.

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In all these aspects of regional culture, it was emphasized again and again that what neither the nation nor the South appeared to comprehend in a practical way was the fact that this was first of all a national problem. That is, the key to the situation was to be found in the phenomenon as a normal problem of complex social development, essentially of American civilization, secondarily of southern culture. For the story of both the settlement and evolution of the Southern States and of their future development was first of all an American story. More than that, the epic of how these states came to be what they were in early territorial expansion and divisions, in population and its distribution, in the great range and variety of resources and activities, and in their later development into a peculiar culture region, was appraised as one of the most dramatic stories, not only of American but of modern civilization. What the South did and how it developed, it was emphasized, was important to the South, but of much greater significance to the regional planning of national reconstruction and to the theoretical understanding of a changing nation.

Yet everywhere the tendency persisted to make of the South a sectional issue rather than a regional opportunity; to make the regional character of the problem synonymous with the whole complex problem itself. The final result would be inevitable if both the nation and the South insisted on this interpretation and action. The South would be in fact a sectional division of the nation. The South needed to reconstruct its place in the nation by building upon its own physical and cultural resources. The South itself must be largely instrumental in accomplishing this task. Yet the South could not succeed without the liberal and intelligent coöperation of the other regions of the na-

tion. The situation, it was pointed out, was in the way of becoming a crisis for both the South and the nation. Literature and discussions about the South had become extraordinarily voluminous, often platitudinous, monotonous; featuring flight from reality where achievement was demanded. There was still little unity, little integration of effort, little knowledge adequately interpreted in realistic perspective, and practically no approach to orderly research and planning. There was, therefore, need for a much more realistic analysis and synthesis of facts, a more penetrating insight into the total meaning of the situation, and a clearer focusing upon action and planning programs of the future.

So much for the general aspects of earlier hypotheses. There is now abundant evidence from the re-examination of a vast amount of data already available, from more recent special studies of the South's capacity for educational and social development, and from observations of national and regional recovery measures, to support these hypotheses and to give them and others restatement in more concrete terms. A supporting corollary is that the task of regional reconstruction and readjustment is all the more urgent because the South, now facing its own peculiar crises in the midst of and in relation to national recovery, appears almost equally capable of making the best or the worst of all possible contributions to the national culture of the next generation. That is, its contribution might be of the lowest as well as of the highest order; might add to the nation's burden as well as enhance its riches; might contribute to national conflict as well as national unity; might afford the shortest road to revolution or the quickest steps to fascism, as well as a logical part of an orderly planned reconstruction economy.

Nowhere is this merely an academic problem. It is stark reality. The South, like the nation, is in the remaking, but with a social heritage often likened unto Germany in the sense that facing a crisis it has a tendency to take the wrong road. It follows, of course, that the region's contribution to the nation will determine the quality of its own civilization, and that axiomatically the quality of its own development will determine the measure of its national contribution. A second corollary is to the effect that the chances in favor of the South enriching rather than impoverishing both regional and national life appear to depend upon a much more realistic facing of facts and a much more comprehensive and equally realistic regional-national planning program than have been anywhere attempted heretofore. Such a program, furthermore, must be begun at once and must encompass definite objectives in the major activities and institutions of the region and for both periodic priority schedules and for aggregates of a minimum ten-year period. Adequate planning, moreover, while magnifying the regional approach, will point to an increasingly effective integration with the national reconstruction. It is this featuring of action and reality which gives special emphasis to the approach to social planning implied in the present appraisal.

III

The problem may be presented first in a series of preliminary considerations which will serve as the general framework or hypothesis in support of which a vast amount of data must be presented in order. The first series of considerations centers around the place of the South in the national economy. For whatever else the Southern Region may be, it is first of all a major part of the moving inventory of a

powerful nation rebuilding its own fortunes and reconstructing its part in the world of nations. As a special region, the South is destined to play an increasingly important rôle in what now appears to be the most momentous drama of survival-struggle that has yet tested the enduring qualities of American civilization. There are several premises underlying these preliminary considerations. One is that the next major strategy of both social study and social action in the United States will revolve around the concept and technologies of the planned society, presupposing a considerable measure of controlled and directed social organization and economic production. A first minor premise within this major strategy is that the regional analysis and approach to social planning will be increasingly basic to permanent recovery programs. A second minor premise is that in the regional approach, the Southern States constitute both an emergency and an ideal laboratory for regional analysis and planning, affording both unusual problems and facilities through their multiple subregions, their cultural and geographic characteristics, and their relation to interregional and international trade. The conclusion follows that regional planning for the South is an immediate next step for insuring a better national equilibrium, for the adequate development of the region itself, and for minimizing the older type of sectional politics and rivalries so long characteristic of various parts of the nation.

Once again this conclusion concerning the importance of the region is based upon joint evidence from the national and regional inventory. The wealth and ways of the United States, in all aspects as comprised in the total picture of wealth and well-being, and especially in relation to the dramatic rise of the nation and to

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its future planning are peculiarly rich in regional character and development. This America of the states and regions is a colossal picture not infrequently as incomprehensible to Americans as it is the puzzle of the foreign visitor. Of the separate excellencies and superlative qualities and achievements of many a subregion or of their peculiar local limitations and deficiencies, the nation is often in ignorance except through provincial caricature and unauthenticated report. There is scant chance, under the old ways, of the "East" understanding the turbulent Northwest. Stage pictures of North and South, still predominating, are peculiarly inappropriate in an age of science, invention, and mobility. Yet, the measure of ignorance, one section of another, is largely the measure of the regions themselves, while the meaning and extent of their multiple differentials and capacities is little known.

For here are states, forty-eight of them, each with its rich historical backgrounds and institutional character. Here are groupings of states, tending to constitute relatively homogeneous areas of culture and geography. Here are other demographic groupings transcending state lines and reflecting through various indices of occupation, population, politics, religion, folkways, soil, climate, similarities enough to indicate a regional society distinctive in some ways from the rest of the country. Once again there are regions so differentiated primarily because of geographic soil, or agricultural character, while others are functional regions looking to practical applications of commerce, trade, newspaper circulation, politics, financial organization, census enumerations, army organization, postal regulations. Moreover, there are still larger implications of regionalism in the traditional divisions of North and South,

East and West, and in the perennial twofold division of the nation—half rural and half urban, with the urban half quickly grown to two-thirds and comprising nearly a hundred metropolitan subregions of over a hundred thousand people each. And finally the American regional portraiture is rich in historical and theoretical backgrounds interpretative and reminiscent of how civilizations grow and change, rise and fall; basic to the planning of a balanced political and social economy.

One of the most important of the new implications of regionalism in the nation reflects a trend contrary to what has often been predicted and finds a sort of counterpart in the increasing tendency toward economic nationalism. It has been freely predicted that modern communication, technology, and standardization processes would tend to minimize regional and national differences. There is, however, the important fact that certain economic aspects of both regionalism and nationalism have been accentuated by modern technology. Communication, transportation, and invention bring sections and nations closer together, but they also solidify groups and standardize production. In the other days, for instance, the manufacture of finer fabrics, cloths, and paper were centered in northern and eastern regions of the United States. The progress of science and invention later made it possible for the South to compete on more favorable terms. The same sort of thing is likely to apply in other regions and to other commodities. It applies also to other nations—the production of cotton and cotton goods, of oil, of many things originally imported or exported, so that a new type of economic planning will be necessary to gear together interregional and international programs.

There is growing up not only a considerable movement for America to be "self-contained" but a great array of data to show how science and technology have made it possible now for the nation to produce what is needed, even to such basic materials as rubber. The assumption is that science has broken down the old division between manufacturing countries and raw material countries and is reducing the number of raw materials which come primarily from nature. The further assumption is that general cultural factors, science, ideas, literature, travel, recreation should be international, but that goods, finance, economic processes should be primarily national. The same presumptions are applicable in less degrees to regions within the nation. Furthermore, even if economic nationalism is desired, the inventory of regions is the first essential to the inventory of capacity for national self-sufficiency.

Thus in America, from whatever motivation, the picture of the regions of the nation is increasingly important. Resources, differences, conflicts, cultural development, interregional free trade, planning for balanced optimum production programs, "the more perfect union," all are elemental factors in the New Deal and the new blueprints of progress. And within each region, inventory of capacity and character, prospects and reasonable attainments and autonomy are of the utmost importance. Moreover, there are fundamental readjustments to be made in land utilization, in redistribution of deficiency groups and areas, and in multiple tasks for transforming "stubborn mediaevalism" or cultural sterility into the sense and action of a more abundant life, a nearer approximation to human adequacy.

So much for the regional approach.

So also the urgent need for a new sort of planned mastery for the South is predicated not only upon the analysis of data bearing upon the region, but also upon the evidence which points to the inevitability of social planning for the nation. Whatever else may develop later, the present evidence indicates that there is one way forward in the new national arrangements, and that is through blueprints of a planned society, the specifications of which will comprehend not only the essential technical units for reconstructing a great nation but also the fundamentals of the American way of democracy. The alternative other than chaos or violent revolution or possibly postponed catastrophe, following *laissez faire*, would be certain action patterns equivalent to dictatorship, whether of mass or minority or iron man. In the failure of a planned and better ordered democracy would inhere the strength of fascism or its equivalent, which would offer to satisfy youth, "solve" economic problems for the business man, fight communism and radicalism, give the feeling of power to the unlettered multitudes, release sufferers from poverty and despair, release the public from thinking, encourage its aversion to going highbrow, realize the hopes of a great nationalism, and produce action, and action now. Toward the attainment of these ends, the patterns of dictatorship, if the planned democratic order is rejected by America, would bring to bear the subtle and irresistible combination of a quick, spiritual transformation and quick and complete regimentation of the people, such that the folkways come mysteriously and suddenly to coincide with the stateways. The Southern Region, left to further chaotic drift and undesigned economy, offers poor prospect for that effective Jeffersonian

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democracy of which it has long boasted and for that more abundant life of which it could prove preëminently capable.

IV

A second series of general consideration centers around the concept of the South as a distinctive region, the comparison of its wealth and ways with other regions, and the implications of its differences to both the regional and national culture. The merits of the regional approach to national planning inhere not only in the greater probability of attaining a national and interregional balanced social and political economy, but also in the opportunity for the more effective and orderly development of each regional unit based upon essential differences, capacities, needs, fitness. In the case of the South, whatever else may be true, whatever may be its place in the national economy, it is "different" from the rest of the nation in much of its quantitative distribution of wealth, management, and labor and in many of its folkways and institutional modes of life. These differences can be ascertained, stated, measured, plotted. Their significance, often quite different from what is commonly assumed, can be appraised in relation to regional capacities and cultural developments and to readjustment to other regions and to the whole national picture.

In the case of the Southern United States, a region most complex and paradoxical, it has for some time been clear that the South not only differs from the rest of the country, but also, and radically, within its own former bounds. There is no longer "the South" but many Souths. In addition to its multiple smaller subregions, which will be utilized for the purpose of more detailed study and planning, it is possible, however, to analyze the South effectively through two

major regions and to note in addition to these the border fringe of other states and areas, which either already tend to merge into other regions or appear to be in the process of doing so. These two major divisions comprise the *Southeast*, with eleven states approximately coinciding with the "Old South;" and the *Southwest*, with the four states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico, comprising a new and evolving culture, already radically different from the Southeastern States in most respects and developing more and more into a regional culture distinctive from any other.

It must be clear that Speaker Garner's home region in which his election leading to the vice-presidency was brought about by the votes of hordes of Mexicans is a different South from the Virginia of Carter Glass or from a black belt in Alabama, Georgia, or Mississippi, and that the climate, hydrology, soil, and minerals of Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and parts of Texas make a poor fist at being "the South." It is also clear that in the border fringe such states as Missouri, West Virginia, and Maryland are not "southern." Although parts of Kentucky and Virginia merge well into the Middle States and Northeast, and certain cultural extensions of the Northeastern States into the Southeast reflect possibilities of ultimate development into a group of "eastern" states, comparable to some extent to the far western group, for the present the great majority of indices make quite clear the twofold major divisions of the South as Southeast and Southwest, the Southwest appearing quite as distinctive in both economic and cultural character as are the other major regions of the nation.

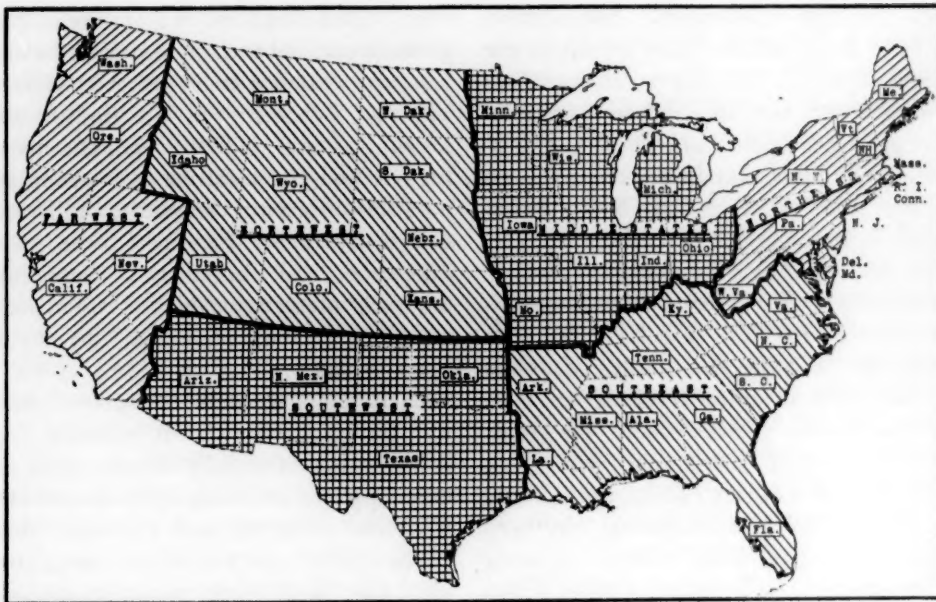
Now, in order both to make adequate analyses and appraisals of the South and to make due comparative studies basic to

regional development, it was equally important to determine other major regions of the nation comparable in area and the other selected indices to those of the Southeast and Southwest. During recent years various classifications of the states of the union into regional divisions for specific and practical purposes have been utilized. Some of the best known of these are the divisions used by the United States Census, by the Federal Reserve Banking System, and by the United States Chamber of Commerce. From a careful examination of these and many others, it is clear at once that they are not suitable for a statistical and cultural study of contemporary changing regional society in the United States. A special grouping is, therefore, necessary if the desired results are to be obtained. For the purpose of such study the designation of major regional divisions of the United States must meet a number of specific requirements: the number of regions must not be too large, nor, on the other hand, must the regions themselves be too large for effective study and unity. Each region should combine the largest number of geographic, economic, and cultural factors possible for the purpose of classification and study. Such classification must take into consideration historical factors, present trends and movements toward new developments, and a large number of elemental focusing indices, such as population, urban and rural trends, production and consumption of commodities, occupational and industrial factors, educational and philanthropic developments, special institutional character, political uniformities, and other measurable factors. For the present and for practical purposes of measurement it is necessary to designate each region in terms of a number of states, although in many instances cultural and economic factors transcend state boundaries.

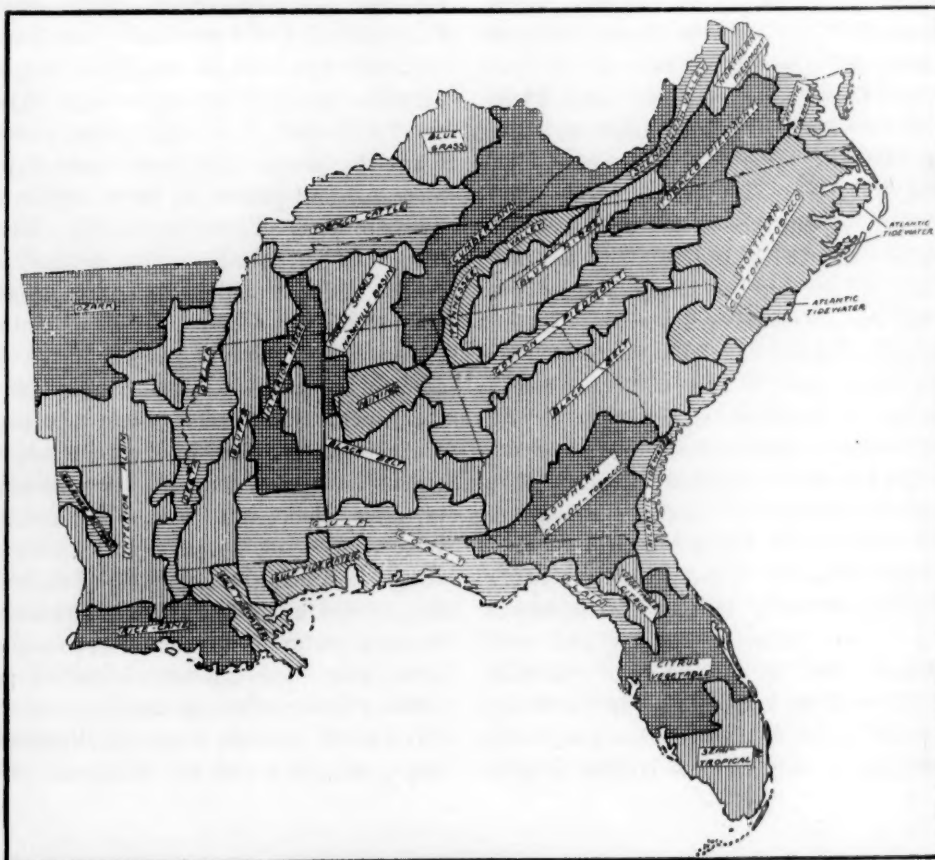
By combining the various regions as found in the many map-pictures available and by comprehensive study of a wide range of factors it was possible to construct a regional picture adequate for comparative purposes and for understanding and planning the next steps of the nation's development. On such a basis six major regions approximate characteristics suitable for adequate portraiture; regions not too large for measurement and distinctive characterization, not so small and numerous as to complicate the picture. The *northeastern* picture is practically synonymous with Frederick J. Turner's greater New England and includes twelve states and the capital: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. The *southeastern* picture includes eleven states: Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The *southwestern* picture represents a new cultural region long since differentiated from "The South" and nearer West than South, including the four states of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. The *Middle States*, largely what was long known as the Middle West, include eight states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri. The new *Northwest*, comprising much of what was called the Mountain States, includes nine states: North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah. Finally, the *far western* picture includes the four states: Washington, Oregon, California of the Coast States, and Nevada as the fringe from the North and Southwest.

Within these regions there are, of course, subregions of distinction. Within the northeastern region, there is the old





THE SIX MAJOR DIVISIONS BASIC TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDY



SUBREGIONS OF THE SOUTHEAST

New England indescribably American in the old days, indescribably mixed in the new. There is also the great region of concentrated wealth, industry, philanthropic institutions, universities, metropolitan regions, starting perhaps with Boston and including New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, giving a picture of such dominance of wealth, universities, cities, drama, literature, philanthropies, as has not hitherto been recorded. Within the South, there are not only the old cultural subregions, such as Charleston, New Orleans, but more than a score of demographic subregions including the Black Belt, the Cotton Piedmont, Tobacco Piedmont, Northern Cotton-Tobacco, Blue Ridge, Atlantic Tidewater, Semi-Tropical, Citrus Vegetable, Vegetable Citrus, Southern Cotton-Tobacco, Northern Piedmont, Coast, Tennessee Valley, Cumberland, Blue Grass, Tobacco Cattle, Muscle Shoals-Nashville Basin, Mining, Black Belt, Gulf Coast Plain, Gulf Tidewater, Rice-Cane, Bluffs, Interior Ridge, Delta, Interior Plain, Ozark, Red River Bottoms, Shenandoah Valley.

Each of the six major regions is an empire of wealth and territory in itself. Each is greater and more self-sufficing than many nations of the world. Each is incurably sentimental and patriotic about its own virtues and assets. Each is colossally ignorant and provincial with reference to other regions, believing everything it hears and inquiring into nothing until impelled by necessity or specific advantage. Each can honestly boast of certain superior and distinctive advantages, resources, cultural backgrounds. Each has its strong points and weak points, foci of advance and recession. Each bears its integral part in the burden of the nation, and each, alas, contributes its load to the nation's burden of prob-

lems. Each wants much from the federal government, and each presents a marvelous array of evidence to support its claims. The 1933 Revolution at Washington was learning as never before the significance of regions and the measure of common ignorance concerning complicated folkways and institutions. For there were great differences and inequalities abounding, and such interrelationships as would yield unforeseen results of action, one region upon others.

Each region has its distinctive historical backgrounds rich in romance and contributing materially to the total national pattern and inseparably interwoven with the economic and political fabric of the nation. How new and young, after all, were the more westerly regions: Middle States, Southwest, Northwest, Far West cultures fabricated by and in the memory of living men and women. Chicago, rival of New York, was just a hundred years old and was celebrating its birthday through the picturesque "Century of Progress," colorful portraiture of what the people had done since 1833—more colorful picture of what they were doing in 1933. There was in 1833 a letter from Douglas predicting a rivalry between Chicago and New York—at the time seemingly a far prophecy. No state of this great region of Middle States was admitted to the union before the turn of the nineteenth century, while the baby giant of them all, Minnesota, with its magic Twin-City metropolitan area came in after the Civil War. The others: Wisconsin, 1848, Iowa, 1846, Michigan, 1837, Missouri, 1821, Illinois, 1818, Indiana, 1816, Ohio, 1803. And of the northwestern group an unbelievably young region, most of which were admitted just before the turn of the twentieth century—Utah as late as 1896; Idaho and Wyoming, 1890; Montana and the Dakotas, 1889;

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with Nebraska and Kansas belonging to the more eastern group of Middle States in time, 1867 and 1861. And still younger members of the New Southwest, Oklahoma in 1907, Arizona and New Mexico in 1912. Beyond and below these, however, product of the earlier westward movement, California was as old as 1850, Oregon, 1859, and Washington, 1889, while Texas belonged back again in the Pre-Civil War period of 1845.

Here, then, were the four youthful regions in contrast to the two eastern, North and South, patriarchal groups, thirteen of which constituted the first original empire. It is essential if one is to understand the unevenness of development, the rugged and ragged dynamics of action, and the instability of the 1930's to see the American picture in terms of its regional chronology. Pictures and pictures again of contrast. The northeast group all charter members of the nation in 1787, 1788, or 1789, except West Virginia which was a war debt from Virginia to the union in 1863. And the Southeast, largely of the Old South, charter states of the nation—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, 1788, 1789, and 1788, and precocious Tennessee of 1796 vintage, followed then by early acquisitions, Mississippi, 1817, Alabama, 1819, Louisiana, 1812, Arkansas, 1812, and Florida in a class of its own in history, culture, and chronology in 1845.

Moreover, there was perhaps no part of the American picture more characteristically dramatic than the regional expansion of an evolving nation. The stock pictures were those of the Louisiana Purchase, the Texas acquisition, the "Winning of the West," the gold rush to California, covered wagons, and cavalries; German migration of the 1840's, romance and tragedy, Indian wars, French traders, epic and epoch of a nation. But

there were other more fundamental pictures of the ways in which the nation came to be as it was. The historical nomenclature of the regions, like some strata evidence of an old civilization, revealed the growing changing nation. Thus, at one time or another the designation of "the great West," or "West" signified an extraordinarily large number of western regions. It might mean anything from Buffalo or Pittsburgh to the golden gates of California. Tennessee at one time constituted the great western lands, Ohio was quite far west. The Middle West in the early 1930's is scarcely west at all, and the great Northwest is at most a North Central Region.

It is in the interrelation of economics and politics, religion and conquest in the winning of these "Wests" that an organic part of the national picture is found. These "Wests" and "Southwests" were frontiers, experimenters with regional and sectional expansion, debtor regions to the East, which in turn was sponsor and financier for great developments which were to be profitable and which constituted the outlying provinces, rural and religious, adventurous and gradually becoming a different America. Contests for empire and wealth conditioned the nation for its future economic development: North and South, East and West, railroad and canal, slave and free, cities and country—it was a grand picture, prophetic of the confusion and corruption of later days when the nation, caught up with its free lands and new territory, and dependent upon eastern capital and control, turned back into the making of a fearfully mixed composite of interrelated yet separate regions. Frederick J. Turner had painted many pictures of the significance of the frontier and of sections in the American picture. William E. Dodd and others had pictured the gigantic struggle

for economic control, and many others had interpreted the devious ways by which government had contributed to the advance and advantage of the various regions. Samplings only—land grabbing and manipulation, tariff and freight rates, subsidy and federal grants, lake to Gulf waterway, concessions and franchises, drainage and irrigation, flood control and giant dams, parks and highways, power and oil, colossal land ownership of railroads, utilities, and private corporations, war-time camps and camp cities, and then latest, reconstruction aids to wheat and cotton and fruits and tobacco and dairying and corn; public works and civil works, and whatever must balance the regional claim.

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It would not be possible, even if desirable, to separate these considerations concerning the larger national picture from those relating specifically to each of the major regions. Least of all could it be done in the case of the South which constituted for a long time not only the larger part of the nation in area, population, and leadership, but which, as gateway to the West, influenced greatly all of the newer regions. Manifestly, it would not be possible to come to an understanding of the region or to project long-time programs without taking into full consideration the historical backgrounds and the cultural factors of the southern folk-regional society, so shaped by more recent history as to cause its regional character well-nigh to transcend the national. What is to be faced will be the actual facts, not what might have been or what might be desired. The task in hand is the rebuilding of the nation and its regions on the basis of the greatest possible promise of the future, not on a hypothetical past. An important part of this re-

building must be based upon the instrumental relation of essential facts to practical affairs. In addition, therefore, to the historical and general cultural factors, the series of conclusions concerning comparison between the South and other regions will feature the resources of physical wealth, technological wealth, artificial wealth, human wealth, and institutional wealth basic to the development of modern civilization, in each of which a large number of special indices will serve as measuring units of comparison. The Southeast and Southwest are the major southern regions to be appraised separately, although more closely interrelated than the other regions in their order. That is, the South has become Southeast and Southwest. Within these two major regions, however, there are still great variations within states and subregions and everywhere there is inequality of development and lack of a balanced culture.

The first of the general conclusions shows the southern regions potentially as being extraordinarily rich in wealth of physical and human resources, yet actually as areas of deficiency in comparison with the present national norms or standards. In terms of development or planning, this means that whereas the South has abundant primary wealth in natural resources and population to make possible almost any reasonable development within a relatively short period of time, it shows great deficiencies in the necessary technologies for the realization of its possibilities. This means further that it lacks adequate science, invention, management, mechanical technology to transform even a small part of its physical wealth into artificial wealth and general well-being, and that it lacks facilities in education, skills, training, social science, social institutions, and other technical ways of developing its human wealth and

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maintaining a high standard of life for the region and a fair representation in the national council.

Furthermore, the region shows a very large ratio of waste of both physical and social resources, resulting in an immeasurable drain in land and men and morale. There is also lacking as yet adequate interregional and national mutually cooperative arrangements for hastening development and minimizing waste. The realities of the situation, therefore, are essentially paradoxical. No matter what the hidden possibilities of the region may be, the South under the present economy is not capable of attaining the highest economic and cultural development. Yet an examination of the whole range of evidence indicates that both the limitations and the waste of the region may be practically remediable through normal processes provided social study, social planning, and social action be extended to comprehend the more recently recognized institutional and cultural foundations of planning as well as the economic and political factors immediately involved. For this reason, both the opportunity for success and the responsibility for failure assume increasingly larger proportions.

Unevenness, deficiencies, excellencies, possibilities are all indicated in the comparative score card measuring the South in relation to other regions. In a series of 152 indices in which the states and regions are ranked in their order of priority in the nation, the Southeast falls within the lowest quartile in from 90 to 100 instances, with six states ranking above 100, while the average for the highest quartile is only about 15 out of the 152, low states ranking 7, 10, 11, 13. Similar rankings of other regions show for the lowest quartile, Southwest 45, Northeast 24, Middle States 15, Northwest 26,

Far West 15, while for the highest quartile the Southwest is 20, Northeast 46, Middle States 40, Northeast 40, and Far West 68. And of those indices in which the Southeast ranks high they are more often than not either measures of potential resources or of drain upon capacity. Illustrations include the largest proportion of total population enrolled in schools but with lowest per capita wealth and income to support the schools; or the largest proportion of population living on farms and the lowest per capita man power and income returns on farms; or the highest birth rate, the highest ratio of taxes to value of property, or high ratio of mileage and expenditures for roads. The specific nature of needs and measures for planning will be apparent from even the hastiest purview of the low-high rankings, such as lowest ratio of pure bred stock and lowest income from dairy products alongside the highest ratio of expenditures for commercial fertilizer and the largest area of eroded lands. The total inventory presents an extraordinary array of variations and contrasts.

As bearing upon the chasm between reality and possibility and also upon great cultural differentials in both quantity and meaning of indices, note that a state ranking highest in the largest number of indices of wealth, estates, capital, population increase will likely rank highest also in the ratio of federal relief funds to all relief expenditures, while a state with a high ranking in mineral resources may more nearly approximate bankruptcy than any others. Or note high ratios of income alongside low contribution for agencies for the development of general cultural development or the public weal.

Or again the southern regions having the richest of possibilities in land, agriculture, climate, rainfall, growing season, afford nearly three-fourths of the erosion

lands of the nation, while their one-third of the population produces less than five per cent of the nation's leaders, with an aggregate net drainage of population to other regions of nearly 2,500,000 since the turn of the century. If the South's personnel were not capable of first rank achievement, that would be a special problem. If, however, it is capable and the region does not develop capacities, or having produced abundantly there is a failure to realize results, that is a problem even more susceptible to treatment. But for whatever reason, the South in the early 1930's had but a fragmentary representation upon the major national control groups, economic, social, educational; and what is more there could not be found throughout the whole region proportionate numbers of individuals now equipped by education and experience to fill the quota. Again, on the basis of the costs of education, the economic earning capacity and the drain in inherited estates, the South may well be poorer by ten to fifteen billion dollars from its net loss by migration of more than two million of its people to other parts of the nation.

A special type of cultural foundations from which special dilemmas and deficiencies arise and upon which intelligent planning and action must be based is the South's dual culture load, with its multiple dichotomous institutional modes of life and work. Its dual system of higher education, for instance, not only includes separate institutions for whites and Negroes but also for men and women; these in turn are divided into public and private, denominational and endowed, technical and liberal, to which is also added the considerable load of duplication and multiplication for geographic and denominational representation. The dual load extends further into agriculture, special social and community activities, industry,

featuring not only differentials between white and Negro but, as in agriculture, half owners and half tenants, a vast mass class phenomenon; and elsewhere extremes such as could exhibit Cadillac and ox cart in the same community.

Another similar sampling would feature the heavy load of submarginality and close marginal areas and people throughout the region. In addition to more than a hundred million acres of land depleted by weather and exhaustion there are other millions normally ranking as submarginal and wasted lands, while the South is usually credited with at least ten million people whose standards of living and work are appraised below the margin of human adequacy and many more close to the margin of subsistence. These deficiencies are so widespread and numerous, so diversified and complex as to constitute a heavy load of approximate social pathology, and recent developments in the reduction of land crop acreage is increasing the multitudes of permanently unadjusted folk under the continuing regime of the present South.

The more than 200 mapographs, charts, and classified materials, to be cited subsequently, will provide a fair inventory of the situation as indicated. They will, however, also indicate a vast array of variable indices pointing to more favorable conditions, extraordinary resources, and cultural assets of great range and power. The picture of the decade 1920-1930 remains relatively accurate except for certain apparent tendencies toward reaction and sectionalism already mentioned. This composite picture of the region's assets, I have pointed out in *An American Epoch*, included a physical background of rare range and power, almost unlimited in industrial and economic potentialities, with the promise of beauty, comfort, culture; a human background of

unusual wealth in the best of American stocks, white and black, a human wealth of sufficient range and power to be adequate for the utmost of general cultural achievement and continuity of human work; a certain heritage abounding in the concepts and experience of good living, strong loyalties, spiritual energy, personal distinctions, and strong individuality; a certain distinctiveness in manners and customs; a certain poignancy and power of cultural tradition, with the promise of considerable distinctive achievement in many avenues of individual and institutional endeavor; evidences of capacity for romantic realism; a certain reserve of social resources as well as of physical wealth.

Pictures of resources were also revealed in a substantial measure of progress from meagre beginnings to larger undertakings; a larger ratio of increase in wealth than in the United States as a whole; a larger increase in certain types of industrial development than in the United States as a whole; a larger increase in the development of roads, water power, and many public utilities; a larger ratio of increase in expenditures and enrollment in public education and institutions of higher learning, although in the aggregate still far behind; a certain initiative in public health and public welfare work; a rare opportunity for the development of a better sort of industrial relations unhampered by physical environment or traditional handicap, with here and there a symptom of progress, with by and large a remarkable development in all aspects of economic and institutional growth since the crisis of the Civil War. There was also a certain youthful buoyancy and stirring which gave promise of new reaches in economic achievement, creative effort, in the utilization of a certain sort of institutional genius for politics, reli-

gion, education, literature, and social science; a certain power arising from the abundance of reserve in human and physical resources, coupled with the first fruits of beginning accomplishments and a growing faith and confidence; a better preparation for larger gains in the future; and a certain drawing power for the rest of the country.

The capacity of the South was thus peculiarly reflected not only in its great range and variety, but especially in its sharp contrast and its contradictions and paradoxes. We have pointed out that the South is preëminently national in backgrounds, yet provincial in its processes. There are remnants of European culture framed in intolerant Americanism. There are romance, beauty, glamor, gaiety, comedy, gentleness, and there are sordidness, ugliness, dullness, sorrow, tragedy, cruelty. There are wealth, culture, education, generosity, chivalry, manners, courage, nobility; and there are poverty, crudeness, ignorance, narrowness, brutality, cowardice, depravity.

From all evidence available it is clear that the series of preliminary conclusions relating more specifically to action and planning must include a number of minimum essentials and point the way for further research and exploration into other fields that may not yet be apparent. First of all, the emphasis upon regional planning in the national setting must be kept constantly in mind. There is then the importance of delimiting and studying the cultural and demographic subregions of the South, in addition to the clear mandate for separate planning groups and programs for the Southeast and the Southwest.

A very special assignment will be necessary for further study and for planning programs for the submarginal areas and groups. This will, however, be an integ-

ral part of the larger task of agricultural planning, which will include not only the usual land planning, crop adjustment, and curtailment, but also a very special planning for programs of optimum production for all major agricultural commodities. It will also be closely related to the twin projects of rural electrification and the promotion of a reasonable development of agrarian culture in the South featuring farming as a way of life and a larger number of experiments in the self-sufficiency type of farming.

Other special features must include planning for increased standards of consumption of farm commodities both in the rural areas and in the cities and with this special promotion of inter-regional trade. Involved also is the problem of planning new occupations for the farm tenants dispossessed of land and work and some sort of extension of civil works for a period of time, as unemployment insurance and for rebuilding waste areas and rural housing.

There must be special planning for the industrial growth of the region, balancing such major industries and decentralized industries as may both develop the region, give adequate employment to the too many millions not properly occupied, and readjust the region to the rest of the nation and to international trade. Within the range of these plans come also the adequate representation of the Negro and his work, and for exploring and working the field for new industries and arrangements for attaining a more balanced work and economy.

The supreme obligation is for a planning council dealing with institutions of higher learning and research and with regional and inter-regional cultural development. The evidence seems to justify the conclusion that the necessary educational institutions and leadership can be secured only through an effective regional and inter-regional planning, such as will give not only new momentum to science and education, but such coöperative support and motivation as will enable administrative groups to receive the needed support.

Among the general conclusions which seem clear is that the South cannot itself plan or develop its full measure of development without very substantial coöperation and assistance from without the region. The evidence includes the facts relating to past experience as well as present indications. Such supplementary assistance will be possible from the federal government, from philanthropy and national foundations, and from special corporations and industry, national or international, which will undertake the stimulation or extension of fundamental industries. Such coöperation, moreover, will include personnel as well as finances. Coöperative efforts and assistance, however, will be through the designed arrangements made possible by planning groups and will not represent superimposed and arbitrary direction or mandates. Part and parcel of the planning obligation will be the task of providing adequate regional and state planning groups, representing the fundamental interests and activities, such as have been indicated as minimum essentials for regional development.

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RURAL POPULATION RESEARCH IN RELATION TO
LAND UTILIZATION¹

WILSON GEE

University of Virginia

THAT we have made a rather bungling job of it in the utilization of our vast land resources is now generally recognized. Moreover, the fault is in ourselves that we have done so, and not in the variety and wealth of our possessions of this sort. If we knew of a planet exactly duplicating our own somewhere nearby and accessible by safe transportation methods developed through inventive genius, it would not be difficult to find enough restless, dissatisfied and pioneering souls to colonize with rapidity this new and unconquered globe. It is true that this is a scientific gathering and constructing utopias has always been fraught with a large measure of futility but, on the other hand, it should be equally true that imagination is one of the cardinal tools of scientific research and often a badly neglected one at that.

With such justification for the approach, let us speculate for a few minutes as to how we would in settling such a new world view the errors we have made in this one and set about to avoid them. To outline so large a task as this in a few minutes is difficult even for the new United States we would plan to develop, so instead of encompassing the entire globe, we shall restrict our imagination to this more limited area.

First, the decision would have to be made as to the proportionate emphasis which should be placed upon the urban, village and farm elements in the total population, and this is a task which legit-

imately devolves upon the rural sociologist. We have not answered it satisfactorily in this country; in fact, in certain quarters, to talk about a *rural-urban balance* is to evoke a smile, as if there were no such thing. What would be our answer as to policy in proportionate rural-urban emphasis? If we follow the dominant prevailing philosophy, the new civilization would be built upon an urban manufacturing substratum. Farming would be secondary to industry. We would have the minimum of people on farms that are necessary with modern machine methods to feed the new nation—farmers, villagers, and city people—and the rest of the population, the largely predominant remainder, would be concerned with tending machines and commercial establishments of all sorts, producing, conveying and purveying the "consumer's goods," as well as the necessary "durable goods" to supply the ever elastic, widening, and insatiable demands of the public for such products. It is conceivable that as slight a proportion as five per cent of the gainfully employed would be concerned with farming.

But, it is likely that the new world order would discover that the urban manufacturing elements of our population are not reproducing themselves sufficiently to maintain even the *status quo*, and a decline in population is evident. The country is the nursery of the population. Can five per cent, or fifteen per cent, or even 21 per cent of the total gainfully employed population, in the face of a declining birth rate throughout the entire nation, country as well as village and

¹ Presented before the Fourth Conference of Purnell Workers in Rural Sociology, Philadelphia, December 26, 1933.

city, repair the urban industrial waste and save us from the ills (and they are many and serious) of a declining population? Is the remedy more people on the farms, adding to the overproduction surpluses, incapable of absorption at profitable prices in a world laboring severely amid many centers of intense economic nationalism?

Moreover, can we ever be certain that these cyclical changes characterizing the business structure of our age and leading to depressions can be so smoothed out as to prevent violent waves of unemployment over even long periods of time? Would a greater security toward stability of the national life be provided if, like France who has weathered the storms of the present world-wide depression better than any other world power, we were to plan for a majority of the population of the new United States to be farmers, even with standards below those of the rather mythical "American standard" concerning which we boast so much? This arrangement, if too much sophistication in sex matters does not come to characterize the rural people, would certainly care for the problem of a declining total population. If some practical way might be achieved to care for the surplus production likely to arise, through carefully determined quotas, domestic allotments, improved foreign markets, and other such methods, it is conceivable that the farmer might have purchasing power sufficient to keep the wheels of a reasonable industrial development continually turning, and reduce or entirely eliminate the tragic phenomenon of millions unemployed and starving. What is the answer of the rural sociologist to this matter as to whether farming or manufacturing should constitute the foundation of a securely stable civilization?

Certainly, the ills of too great metropolitan centers, with their slum areas, their

overhanging pall of smoky stench, their congestion of humanity on streets, in bus, subway, elevator, and ferry, their ceaseless noise and clang and clamor would be avoided in the new utopian civilization. But how? Through the decentralization of industry and its carefully planned location in attractive villages, housing in modern buildings the employees, giving to them space about them, making for purer air, more of privacy and a certain measure of peace, quiet and restfulness? Would each of these families be afforded two or three acres of land to develop a vegetable garden, a small orchard, some poultry, a cow or a couple of goats, and a variety of other interests, providing a wholesome use of the greater leisure which has come about, and some security against periods of inactivity on the part of the manufacturing establishments? Are the laborers in factories really interested in spending their leisure time in such a way? Did or did not they leave the farm for the factory to get away from just this sort of life? Would not such an arrangement encroach seriously upon the market of the people making their living on the farms, and constituting, if they can sell their products at reasonable prices, an important consuming element in the national structure? Granted that such a marriage of industry and agriculture is advisable and practicable, what effect would this arrangement have upon the birth rate of these ruralized industrial people? Would this arrangement eliminate the bogey of a declining population?

Or, would it be better to go more fully in the direction of merging agriculture and industry in the fashion that Henry Ford has proposed, and is carrying out in the hinterland of Detroit? If such a "design for living" is the accepted plan, then there would be no farmers and no industrialists, but everyone would be a factory-farmer.

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How would such an arrangement react upon efficiency in manufacturing and in farming? Certainly the industrial patterns of residence and ways of life would be the dominant ones, for does not the chief proponent of the idea tell us that such farms may be adequately cared for in only fifteen days out of the year by the use of modern machinery and mass production methods. What would be the result upon a civilization if farming as "a way of living" should pass out?

The problem of recouping devastated forest resources would be absent in this new world. Surveys would be made, and the villages and cities having been carefully determined upon as to location and size, forest reserves, softwood and hardwood of adequate extent for future needs under national and state control would be established, watersheds provided, and parks and fish and game areas staked out. Acres that were submarginal would be left in forests, and only land that was really productive would be farmed. Moreover, areas of sparse settlement, and low taxable wealth values would not be allowed, because they make government expensive and inefficient, encouraging poor schools, bad roads, remote and feeble government, and low levels of community life. But it would be possible to prevent such developments only by a careful determination of what is supermarginal, marginal, and what submarginal land; what acres are best adapted to forests, to crops and to pasture. Moreover, the agricultural plant would have to be so determined upon as to make it responsive to demands for expansion or for contraction. There would be no problems such as we now face in this country, of contracting the agricultural plant by retiring submarginal lands from cultivation, covering them with forests, and in the process, of displacing thousands

who through generations have coaxed some sort of living, poor as it is, from these lands. What is to be done with such benighted, illiterate or near-illiterate souls? It would perhaps be a blessing to put them on more productive land, but would it be either to their advantage or that of the village or city to have them projected into those centers of population and almost entirely different modes of living? What answer can the rural sociologist give anyhow to the question as to whether in general or in particular those who have been lured to the city from the farm have been bettered in the process? Such questions as these lend themselves to objective study, and are deserving of more consideration than is being given to them.

And for that matter, so does the whole question of comparative social values in rural and urban ways of living. The field here has been sketched in outline, but only sketched. Some things about it we know fairly definitely, such as comparative age, sex, color, race and nativity differences, and pretty well, birth and death rates. Regarding such matters as comparative physical characteristics including defects of this nature among children, poverty and dependency, marriage and divorce, intelligence, insanity and feeble-mindedness, crime and delinquency, we have a mass of data, but when it is sifted not many of these comparisons are sufficiently adequate to be entirely illuminating or convincing. The value of such a carefully determined body of data adheres largely in the fact that they would enable a reasonably accurate balance to be struck as between the value of having under normal conditions a painfully decreasing rural minority, or of having a resurgent majority in the countryside.

Nor, can we as rural sociologists move along complacently in the matter of na-

tional policy under the conviction that the selective processes of rural-urban migration are operating without detriment to the rural breeding grounds of our national population. It is my opinion that evidence has been adduced to show that depletive action is taking place in many areas of the South. A large number of factors enter into the complex of such a situation, and they operate with varying degrees of intensity in different parts of the nation. We need a carefully planned series of studies of the qualitative nature of rural-urban migration in representative areas in a number of widely different sections of the nation, and according to techniques adapted to the particular area. If forces are at work, operating to the deterioration of the quality of our rural population, the fact should be known so that the tendency may be corrected as far as possible. At any rate, we are not justified in view of the present light on the matter to proceed, as we are now doing, upon the assumption that the best from the country do not leave in largest proportions for the city to the detriment of the community left behind in the process.

The status and rôle of the tenant is one of the oldest of the research topics that has attracted the attention of the rural sociologist, but it is perhaps along such already well-trod paths, indicative of their importance, that some fresh investigational trails should be made. Certainly in the utopian new United States with regard to which we are indulging our imagination, we would want to insure as nearly 100 per cent an owner-operating farming population as was possible. Where tenancy as a stepping stone to ownership status was necessary, perhaps to some extent desirable, we should want to make this transition easy and the expected thing. With tenancy levels in

these United States today mounting to heights of 50 per cent and more of our farming population, and in some sections to as much as 70 per cent or more, something is wrong with the social and economic processes encouraging ownership. Theoretically, we desire to translate the worthy tenant into the estate of the owner, but practically we give evidence of supporting the reverse of any such mechanism. Certainly, if we were to make the determined effort to end unhealthy tenancy ratios in this country such as was made in Denmark and Ireland years ago, our percentages of farm tenancy would be on a declining rather than a rising scale. The leadership of the Socialist Party in this country already is advocating that the title to all land should vest in the Government, and that it should be the lessor of the land to those families who would and should farm it. Few if any tenants who understand such contentions would maintain that they had rather pay rent to a grasping "absentee landlord" than to establish such relations with their own Government. It is the business of the rural sociologist to study this matter, to make clear the inhibitions which accelerate this rapid, present-day surge toward tenancy, and to point the way to a program which will restore a healthy state of farm owner-operatorship.

Considering the comparatively limited number of them, the recent emergence of their field of endeavor, and the meager financial and moral support accorded them in many if not most places where they labor, the rural sociologists have achieved notably in this country. In more recent years, their efforts have centered too much, however, in somewhat restricted areas such as standards of living and the village and its farm inter-relationships. Nothing seems more certain as an outcome of the radical experi-

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mentation of the present crisis in national life—both farm and city—than that a concerted attempt at definite planning is to be made, not only now but to an increasing extent in the future. In its last analysis the measure of adequacy of such planning is its effect upon the social welfare of the people of this entire country. There is a surprising unanimity among our fellow agricultural economists as to the course which national planning should take. The voice of the rural sociologist is characterized by its almost total absence in these councils. It is his task to assess in terms of human welfare, social justice, and social progress, the steps and measures characterizing the present clearly indicated trends of action. Let him weigh

them in his own scales. If they meet proper standards and promise well for the future of the nation, let him place the stamp of his approval upon them. If they do not, let him not indulge merely in destructive criticism, but let him forcefully state the proper policy and program, and fortify with the results of research his position in so doing. This is his responsibility—no less and no more—and he will be recreant to his duty if he does not meet it with regard not only to the validity of current land utilization policies, but to the social applicability of every other important matter of policy as it affects the rural population of this Nation.

THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM

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THE farmers' economic problem, which in recent years has become so important, began to take form in the Colonial Period. Prior to the Revolutionary War agricultural production in this country was guided largely by policies laid down in Great Britain. Trade restrictions of one kind or another were placed upon agricultural exports, more especially on wheat, because England cherished hopes of self-sufficiency in the production of many of the crops produced in this country. The only important crops the production of which was encouraged by Great Britain were cotton and tobacco. This encouragement was given because these crops together with others which were produced in the Southern colonies supplemented rather than conflicted with the agriculture in England.

The successful conclusion of the Revo-

lutionary War did not, however, bring immediate relief. New difficulties arose of one kind or another. The Napoleonic War, however, gave rise to an increasing demand for the products of American farms, and prices of many of our farm products rose rapidly. The Napoleonic War was followed by the rapid development of industrialism in Europe and more particularly in Great Britain. The industrial revolution changed the original attitude of Great Britain towards the use of American products from one of restriction on imports to one of free trade. In other words, England gave up the idea of agricultural self-sufficiency and began to develop rapidly the production of industrial products. For these industrial products other countries, particularly American, were encouraged to exchange agricultural products of one kind or another. In this

manner the prices of agricultural products, which declined rapidly following the War of 1812, began to advance beginning as early as 1830, but more particularly after 1843.

The advance in prices thus begun reached zenith during the Civil War. At the completion of the War, prices again receded and continued to fall for a number of years. In fact, these low prices continued until after the turn of the century, although there is evidence of a definite up-turn as early as 1896. Considerable discontent during this prolonged period of low prices was evidenced among farmers in the West about 1875 and a little later. At this time the Grange movement sprang up; farmers of the entire nation united in the 80's and 90's in the Populist party for the free-silver movement, lower freight rates, revised banking, etc.—all evidences of discontent with farm prices.

Prices of farm products in the United States during this period were determined to a large extent by the prices obtained for that part sold in Europe. These prices were low because in order to sell any products abroad it was necessary to undersell the European farmers, and in addition, to sell through tariffs in many countries.

The rapid expansion of agricultural production, begun in the latter half of the nineteenth century, tended to slacken in the early part of the twentieth century. Exports dropped off considerably and a much larger proportion of the agricultural production found a market in the rapidly developing industrial centers in the United States. Prices were considerably higher and farmers as a class were well-satisfied. Outside of the agricultural class, however, there were many who viewed the situation with alarm. Agricultural production had ceased to increase. To

some this meant an impending "food famine." A "back to the farm" movement was started, and a "country life commission" created to study and devise means of maintaining agriculture as the foundation and the basic industry of the nation. The idea of an impending shortage of food was fallacious. Expansion on new lands had to stop sometime, and an industry which had out-run itself for so long needed a chance to catch-up, as it were. Just what the consequences of this trend would have been is, of course, a matter of conjecture. The World War made such pressing demands upon agriculture that an entirely new trend in production became manifest. With the whole of Europe engaged in war, unprecedented demands for food, clothing, and munitions were made on America. Our entry into this war intensified these demands and led to extremely high prices and an unbelievable expansion in agricultural production. Farm profits rose, land prices rose to new heights, in fact everything rose under the inflated prices and stimulated demand.

This brief and sketchy outline brings us up to present conditions. Farm prices are low, not only from a historical point of view but relatively with respect both to cost-of-production and to the prices of commodities the farmer has to buy. The results, as will be pointed out, are far-reaching in their effect on the American farmer. One writer has said that the farmer's problem may be concisely stated in four words: "farm profits are inadequate." However true this may be, such a statement is not comprehensive enough to permit a full understanding of the agricultural situation. Not only is it important to know that profits are inadequate but one needs also to know the effects of a vanishing farm income on the economic and social status of agriculture.

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AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM

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TABLE I
INDEX NUMBERS OF THE WHOLESALE PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS 1785 TO 1919*
(1910-1914 = 100)

YEAR	INDEX	YEAR	INDEX	YEAR	INDEX
1785		1830	58	1875	99
1786	75	1831	61	1876	89
1787	78	1832	63	1877	89
1788		1833	69	1878	72
1789	68	1834	64	1879	72
1790	68	1835	75	1880	80
1791	57	1836	89	1881	89
1792		1837	84	1882	99
1793	75	1838	82	1883	87
1794	76	1839	86	1884	82
1795	102	1840	65	1885	72
1796	116	1841	64	1886	68
1797	98	1842	53	1887	71
1798	93	1843	48	1888	75
1799	98	1844	52	1889	67
1800	99	1845	58	1890	71
1801	113	1846	58	1891	76
1802	84	1847	72	1892	69
1803	83	1848	59	1893	72
1804	89	1849	62	1894	63
1805	106	1850	71	1895	62
1806	95	1851	71	1896	56
1807	79	1852	77	1897	60
1808	81	1853	83	1898	63
1809	83	1854	93	1899	64
1810	90	1855	98	1900	71
1811	82	1856	84	1901	74
1812	81	1857	95	1902	82
1813	104	1858	76	1903	78
1814	112	1859	82	1904	82
1815	117	1860	77	1905	79
1816	119	1861	75	1906	80
1817	126	1862	86	1907	87
1818	117	1863	113	1908	87
1819	87	1864	162	1909	92
1820	68	1865	148	1910	104
1821	64	1866	140	1911	94
1822	70	1867	133	1912	102
1823	64	1868	138	1913	100
1824	61	1869	128	1914	100
1825	67	1870	112	1915	100
1826	62	1871	102	1916	118
1827	59	1872	108	1917	181
1828	58	1873	103	1918	208
1829	59	1874	102	1919	221

*Cornell Memoir 142, 1932, p. 84.

To fully understand this it will be necessary to go into some detail with respect to farm prices, taxes, credit, farm income, etc.

FARM PRICES

After reaching rather dizzy heights during the World War and for some twenty months thereafter, farm prices fell very definitely and very quickly in the fall of 1920. A slight recovery was evident by 1922 and farm prices as a whole did not slump again until 1930. There were exceptions to this general tendency, of course, in the case of particular commodities. Cotton prices were relatively high in 1923, 1924, and 1925, but were low in

have been made since this time, however, in almost all groups. Table II shows the index of farm prices since 1919.

PRICE PAID BY FARMERS

Concurrently with the decline in farm prices has come a marked decline in the prices farmers pay for the goods they purchase. Unfortunately the prices received by farmers have declined to much lower levels, with the result that the farmer's purchasing power has been seri-

TABLE II
INDEX NUMBER OF FARM PRICES 1919 TO DATE*
(1910-14 = 100)

YEAR	GRAINS	FRUITS AND VEGETABLES	MEAT ANIMALS	DAIRY PRODUCTS	POULTRY PRODUCTS	COTTON AND COTTONSEED	ALL GROUPS
1919	231	189	206	173	206	247	209
1920	231	249	173	188	222	248	205
1921	112	148	108	148	161	101	116
1922	105	152	113	134	139	156	124
1923	114	136	106	148	145	216	135
1924	129	134	109	134	147	211	134
1925	156	160	139	137	161	172	147
1926	129	189	146	136	156	122	136
1927	128	155	139	138	141	128	131
1928	130	146	150	140	150	152	139
1929	121	136	156	140	159	145	138
1930	100	158	134	123	126	102	117
1931	63	98	93	94	96	63	80
1932	44	71	63	70	80	46	57
1933 (Sept.)	78	101	62	76	77	69	70

* The Agricultural Situation, Bureau of Agricultural Economics United States Department of Agriculture.

1926. Meat prices were low in 1923 and 1924. In 1931 prices of practically all products were below the level of pre-war (1910-1914), with cotton and grains leading the declines. Prices of these two were only 63 per cent of the prewar level. In 1932 prices dropped still further with cotton and grains still leading. Cotton prices were as low as 5.1 cents per pound, wheat down to 31.6 cents per bushel, corn down to 18.8 cents per bushel, and oats down to 13 cents per bushel during the latter part of 1932. Considerable gains

ously impaired. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates that at present the purchasing power of farm products is just about 50 per cent of normal (1932). In other words, if we assume that it took two bales of cotton or 50 bushels of wheat to buy a farmer's fertilizer for the year or his clothing for the year in the four years immediately preceding the war, then under present prices it takes four bales of cotton or 100 bushels of wheat to buy the same amount of fertilizer or clothing.

Table III shows the indices of farm

prices, of prices the farmer pays, and the ratio of these two, or the purchasing power of farm products from 1919 to date.

FARM INCOME

Receipts. ^{Due to} The fact that prices were extremely low in 1932, the gross income from agriculture last year was the lowest in the twenty-four years during which estimates have been made. *Gross income* in 1932 was \$5,143,000,000, or more than a

decline was around 61 per cent. Gross income from grains declined about 75 per cent and from cotton approximately 69 per cent. Gross income from dairy products declined only 46 per cent.

Expenses. Farm expenses have declined considerably, but not nearly so much as farm receipts. Current expenses for commodities used in production have declined almost as sharply as receipts. Prices of these commodities have declined and

TABLE III
FARM PRICES AND PURCHASING POWER 1919 TO DATE*
(1910-14 = 100)

YEAR	PRICES RECEIVED FOR FARM PRODUCTS	RETAIL PRICES PAID FOR COMMODITIES USED IN—			RATIO OF PRICES RECEIVED TO PRICES PAID
		Living	Production	Living and production	
1919	209	210	192	205	102
1920	205	222	174	206	99
1921	116	161	141	156	75
1922	124	156	139	152	81
1923	135	160	141	153	88
1924	134	159	143	154	87
1925	147	164	147	159	92
1926	136	162	146	156	87
1927	131	159	145	154	85
1928	139	160	148	156	90
1929	138	158	147	155	89
1930	117	148	140	146	80
1931	80	126	122	126	63
1932	57	108	107	109	53
1933	June	64	104	103	62
	Sept.	70		112	60

* Agricultural Situation, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

million dollars less than in 1909, the lowest year previously, and about 57 per cent lower than in 1929. *Gross cash income* in 1932 was \$4,201,000,000, a decline of 59 per cent as compared with 1929 and of almost 1500 million dollars as compared with 1931. Producers of livestock and livestock products fared somewhat better than producers of crops. Since 1929 the gross income from livestock and livestock products declined about 53 per cent whereas for crops the

at the same time farmers have curtailed their purchases. Farmers have also reduced their "capital expenditures," that is, cash outlays for repairs, automobiles, machinery, etc. On the other hand, many expenses have not declined nearly so much. Interest payments remain high, taxes are very little lower, depreciation goes right on, rents have not come down in proportion, nor have wage rates.

Table IV shows the trend in some of the important cost items since 1924.

Income. The resulting income from expenses, have been deducted from gross agricultural production may be viewed cash income. This "net cash income"

TABLE IV
SELECTED FARM EXPENSES 1924-1932
(Bureau of Agricultural Economics)

YEAR	CURRENT EXPENDITURES ¹	CAPITAL EXPENDITURES ²	CASH WAGES TO HIRED LABOR	INTEREST ³	TAXES	RENT ⁴	DEPRECIATION ⁵
	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars
1924	1,717	843	865	788	727	927	850
1925	1,894	1,007	899	780	729	1,005	896
1926	1,915	952	932	774	738	999	889
1927	1,852	939	942	765	754	1,034	894
1928	2,065	1,079	948	759	766	1,068	894
1929	2,083	1,194	955	754	777	1,110	912
1930	1,961	863	809	739	777	911	892
1931	1,434	487	587	692*	738	692	843
1932	1,133	218	380	657*	618	570	805

* Estimated.

¹ Includes feed, seed, fertilizer, fuel, auto expenses, twine, ginning, containers, etc.

² Includes machinery, auto, tractors, buildings and repairs.

³ Interest on bank loans other than real estate and interest on mortgages.

⁴ 72 per cent of all rent paid; 28 per cent was paid to other farmers.

⁵ 5 per cent on buildings except dwellings, and 21 per cent on machinery, auto and trucks.

TABLE V
CASH INCOME, PRODUCTION EXPENSES AND CASH AVAILABLE AFTER DEDUCTING PRODUCTION EXPENSES, 1924-1932*

YEAR	CASH INCOME	TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES ¹	CASH WAGES TO HIRED LABOR ²	INTEREST PAYABLE ³	TAXES PAYABLE ⁴	TOTAL PRODUCTION EXPENSES	CASH AVAILABLE AFTER DEDUCTING PRODUCTION EXPENSES
	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars
1924	9,640	2,560	865	731	654	4,810	4,830
1925	10,086	2,901	899	723	656	5,179	4,907
1926	9,658	2,867	932	717	664	5,180	4,478
1927	8,872	2,791	942	708	679	5,120	3,752
1928	9,999	3,144	948	702	689	5,483	4,516
1929	10,286	3,277	955	698	699	5,629	4,657
1930	7,988	2,824	809	683	699	5,015	2,973
1931	5,749	1,921	587	643	664	3,815	1,934
1932	4,201	1,351	380	612	556	2,899	1,302

* Crops and Markets, April 1933, p. 145.

¹ See Table 4 in Crops and Markets.

² Total Cash wages paid.

³ Payable on all bank loans other than real estate loans, and on 90 per cent of all mortgage indebtedness, 10 per cent of the total mortgage debt being assigned to farm dwellings.

⁴ 90 per cent of total taxes on farm property, 10 per cent of total being assigned to farm dwellings.

from two points. In the first place there has declined from over 4½ to less than 1½ billion dollars since 1929. In other words,

it was less than one-third as much in 1932 as in 1929. Table V shows gross cash income, production expenses, and net cash income since 1924.

The financial position of the farmer may also be viewed from the standpoint of a business. Non-cash income as well as non-cash expenses must be taken into

was a little below 1,300 million dollars as compared with almost 5,600 million dollars in 1929, a decline of over 75 per cent. (See Table VI.)

At the same time the value of the capital employed in agriculture has declined somewhat over 10 billion dollars since 1924. Declines have been felt in the

TABLE VI

GROSS INCOME, DEDUCTIONS FROM GROSS INCOME, AND INCOME AVAILABLE FOR OPERATOR'S CAPITAL, LABOR, AND MANAGEMENT, 1924-1932*

YEAR	GROSS INCOME FROM AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION	CURRENT EXPENDITURES FOR PRODUCTION ¹	DEPRECIATION OF BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT ²	EXPENDITURES FOR WAGES, INTEREST, RENT AND TAXES ³	TOTAL DEDUCTIONS	INCOME AVAILABLE FOR OPERATORS' LABOR CAPITAL AND MANAGEMENT
	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars	million dollars
1924	11,337	1,602	850	3,186	5,638	5,699
1925	11,968	1,765	896	3,305	5,966	6,002
1926	11,480	1,789	889	3,340	6,018	5,462
1927	11,616	1,733	894	3,389	6,016	5,600
1928	11,741	1,929	894	3,429	6,252	5,489
1929	11,918	1,949	912	3,483	6,344	5,574
1930	9,414	1,833	892	3,067	5,797	3,617
1931	6,811	1,350	843	2,476	4,669	2,242
1932	5,143	1,069	805	1,978	3,852	1,291

* Crops and Markets, April 1933, p. 145.

¹ All of the current operating costs indicated in Table 4 except 7.5 per cent of fertilizer costs, 9.5 per cent of feed, 10 per cent of binder twine, and 15 per cent of ginning costs which are estimated as paid by nonfarmer landlords.

² Depreciation on buildings, estimated at 5 per cent of the value of farm buildings, of farm operators exclusive of dwellings, and 21 per cent of the value of farm machinery, automobiles, and trucks used for production.

³ Cash wages to hired labor plus an allowance of 25 per cent for board and an additional 12½ per cent of the cash wage to represent perquisites furnished hired labor and domestic hired labor contributing to production. Includes only that portion of interest payable by farm operators; figured at 75 per cent of all interest payable on farm mortgage debt on real estate used in production and interest on all bank loans other than real estate loans. It is assumed that 70 per cent of all taxes on farm property used in production are paid by farm operators and that 72 per cent of all rent paid is paid to nonfarmer landlords, the remaining 28 per cent being paid to farmer operators owning other farms. Rent payable to nonfarmer landlords in 1932 was \$570,000,000. For estimates of rent in earlier years see November, 1932, Crops and Markets, p. 440.

account. As a business, American agriculture was much less profitable in 1932 than at any time since estimates have been made. The decline in profitability during the last few years have been even sharper than the declines in "net cash income." In 1932 the return to operation labor, capital, and management

value of land, buildings, livestock, and all other types of capital, depreciation has accumulated as purchases have fallen off, and needed repairs postponed until "better times." (See Table VII.)

Still viewing agriculture as a business, we have in Table VI the return to labor, capital, and management. In Table VII

TABLE VII
CHANGES IN FARM OPERATORS' CAPITAL USED IN PRODUCTION 1924-1932*

YEAR	VALUE OF LAND AND BUILDINGS USED IN FARM PRODUCTION ¹	PER CENT OWNED BY OPERATORS ²	OPERATORS LAND AND BUILDINGS FOR PRODUCTION ³	LIVESTOCK	FARM MACHINERY ⁴	TOTAL VALUE OF OPERATOR'S CAPITAL	INDEBTEDNESS OF FARM OPERATOR ⁵	OPERATOR'S NET CAPITAL ⁶
	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>million dollars</i>
1924	44,399	72.3	32,100	5,117	2,651	39,868	9,873	29,995
1925	43,364	72.2	31,309	5,041	2,680	39,030	9,805	29,225
1926	42,884	71.6	30,705	5,403	2,739	38,847	9,748	29,099
1927	41,412	71.1	29,444	5,537	2,841	37,822	9,660	28,162
1928	41,191	70.6	29,081	6,041	2,850	37,972	9,601	28,371
1929	41,322	70.0	28,925	6,578	3,096	38,599	9,482	29,117
1930	41,150	69.5	28,599	6,490	3,302	38,391	9,331	29,060
1931	37,954	69.0	26,188	4,822	3,206	34,216	9,025	25,191
1932	31,406	68.7	21,576	3,459	2,830	27,865	8,375	19,490

* Crops and Markets, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, April 1933, p. 146-7.

¹ Value of all land and buildings except 95 per cent of dwelling.

² Per cent of land operated by owners or managers plus other land owned by operators but farmed by tenants, adjusted for changes in tenancy in intercensal years.

³ Column 1 multiplied by column 2.

⁴ Value of all machinery, trucks, tractors and one-half the value of automobiles.

⁵ All bank loans other than real estate loans and 90 per cent of farm mortgage indebtedness owed by farm operators, 10 per cent being assigned to dwellings.

⁶ Column 6 less Column 7.

TABLE VIII
RETURN TO CAPITAL AND MANAGEMENT AND THE RATE EARNED ON INVESTMENT, 1924-1932*

YEAR	INCOME AVAILABLE FOR OPERATOR'S LABOR, CAPITAL AND MANAGEMENT ¹	DEDUCTION FOR WAGES OF OPERATOR'S AND UNPAID FAMILY LABOR ²	RETURN TO CAPITAL AND MANAGEMENT ³	NET CAPITAL ⁴	RATE EARNED ON INVESTMENT ⁵
	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>million dollars</i>	<i>per cent</i>
1924	5,699	4,405	1,294	29,995	4.3
1925	6,002	4,447	1,555	29,225	5.3
1926	5,462	4,534	928	29,099	3.2
1927	5,600	4,501	1,099	28,162	3.9
1928	5,489	4,491	998	28,371	3.5
1929	5,574	4,519	1,055	29,117	3.6
1930	3,617	4,096	-479	29,060	-1.6
1931	2,242	3,218	-976	25,191	-3.9
1932	1,291	2,460	-1,169	19,490	-6.0

* Crops and Markets, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, April 1933, p. 146.

¹ Table 5.

² Operator's wage is equal to wages of hired labor without board and family labor is 22 per cent additional to the operator's labor.

³ Column 1 less column 2.

⁴ Table 7.

⁵ Column 3 divided by column 4.

we have the net capital with which this amount was made. If we subtract from the former the value of labor used, the result should be the return to capital. If this return to capital is expressed as a percentage of the net capital we obtain a figure which may be called "rate earned on investment."—This is done in Table VIII. As may be seen from this table, the returns from farming in the last three years have not been sufficient to compensate the operator and his family for their labor, at the going rate of farm wages. When the value of this labor is subtracted from the income available for labor, capital, and management, the results show a loss of 6 per cent on the net capital invested in the agricultural industry in 1932. In the last two years—1931 and 1932—the farmers would not have been compensated for their labor even if nothing had been allowed for depreciation. Actually, many taxes have been left unpaid and the interest on many loans and mortgages have been defaulted. No information is available on this point, however, and since these are expenses of production they may have been counted in full. Failure to pay these expenses has left the farmers with a little more cash available for family living but in no better financial condition, except to the extent that federal and state governments legislate for mortgage and tax relief.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

A greatly reduced income available for family living, as revealed in the above analysis, has had far-reaching affects on standards of living among the farm population. In 1932, when only 1,300 million dollars in cash were available after deducting production expenses, there were over 31,000,000 people living on farms and almost 6,500,000 farm operators. On this basis each farm family had around \$200

for family living, or each person had a little less than \$41 for the year. In 1929 each family had over \$750 and each person around \$150 in cash. Food and clothing prices have declined but not to this extent. (See Table II, living expenses.)

Thus, the farmers have been forced to lower their standards of living in the face of increased standards of city dwellers. Live-at-home programs provide food and shelter, but clothing must be bought, and past eras of prosperity have accustomed farm people to many of the comforts and some few luxuries of life. Giving up these things or curtailing expenditures for them is as hard for many farmers as for urban people. It should be pointed out also that the figures quoted are averages, that there are many farmers in better shape and many in worse shape than these figures indicate. Actual economic and social distress would seem to be the lot of farmers with incomes even slightly below this average.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

Agricultural credit. Declining incomes have accelerated declines in the value of farm land and of all farm property. The result of this has been (1) to reduce or to eliminate the farmer's equity in his property; (2) to undermine the stability of lending institutions; and (3) to endanger credit resources. Failure of farmers to meet mortgage interest and principal payments forces land upon institutions who do not want or need the land and takes it away from those who do need it. Practically all sources of credit for real estate have been eliminated. In addition, farmers have not been able to repay current production loans and consequently practically all sources of local credit have dried up. Over 10,000 banks, located largely in agricultural areas, have failed since 1920, and deposits in solvent

banks in rural areas are only about one-half what they were three years ago.

Agricultural taxes. As pointed out above, a lowered cash income has resulted in rapidly mounting tax delinquencies in all parts of the United States. Large areas of land have reverted to states and counties. Aside from causing distress among farmers, this has seriously reduced the income of governmental units.

Land utilization. In addition to the fact that mortgage foreclosures and tax delinquencies have caused much land to be taken from the farmer, there is the serious problem with respect to that land which remains in the hands of farmers. Lands and farms which were marginal under 1929 conditions are so far sub-marginal now as to discourage even the poorest or most resolute of farmers. It is estimated roughly that such lands amount to as much as 100,000,000 acres of our farming areas. Distressed lands and abandoned farms are in evidence in many parts of the country. Undoubtedly there would have been much more abandonment if cities had offered any inducement whatsoever. Unemployment in all cities, however, prevented this. In 1930, 1931, and 1932 more persons moved to farms from cities than left farms for cities, but in every year from 1920 to 1930 the cityward movement had been larger.¹ This reversal of trends militates against a reduction in agricultural production. There is a possibility, however meager, that these newer farmers will confine themselves to non-market production to a large extent.

Local areas have been forced to undergo radical adjustments in their production programs and have been faced with a more acute problem of land utilization than has the nation as a whole. Nils A. Olsen, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, stated that during the

last ten years the land in harvested crops east of the Mississippi River has decreased 19,000,000 acres, while there has been an increase of 20,000,000 acres west of the Mississippi River. Adjustments in yields, farm practices and the like are necessary and long overdue in many of the so-called better farming areas.²

Effects of agriculture on business. The farmers of the nation have in the past commanded about one-eighth of the national income and the purchasing power of agriculture has assumed an important place in the national economy. Considered geographically its importance is even more pronounced, since in many states and local areas agriculture is the basis of business. This is particularly true in the South. Business is affected not only by the profits made by farmers but by the amounts of their gross income, since it is all spent in one way or another. Consequently, the decrease in gross cash income of almost 60 per cent has had damaging effects on business, resulting in an almost equal decrease in the volume of business in many areas. One writer has summarized the importance of agriculture in the national economy as follows: "It pays indirectly two and a half billion dollars in wages to urban employees. It constitutes one-eighth of the freight tonnage of the railroad systems, one-half of the exports, and one-fifth of the nation's tangible wealth. It pays one-fifth of the total cost of government."³ In addition it is always to be remembered that one-fourth of the population lives on farms and is, of course, directly concerned and affected. It should be clear from this that the farm depression is much more significant than is indicated by the cold facts of a farm income some 75 per cent below the 1929 level.

¹ Nils A. Olsen, "Recent Economic Changes and Their Effect on American Agriculture," address, February, 1933.

² B. Ostrolenk, *The Surplus Farmer*, pp. 43-44.

³ *The Agricultural Situation*, United States Department of Agriculture, May, 1933.

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THE FARM REVOLT IN IOWA¹

JAMES O. BABCOCK*

University of Chicago

THESE stories of men armed with pitchforks and patrolling the roads which led to town . . . fill me with amazement. . . . All my life I have been hearing threats from time to time that the farmers of the state would go 'radical'; but it has never happened—never before." Thus writes Mr. Bruce Bliven, editor of the *New Republic*. Perhaps he is right. With the exception of the revolt against the enforcement of the tuberculin test direct action among the farmers of Iowa is a new mode of activity. It is, however, probably only accidental that violence has not appeared in Iowa before, for we find from a study of history that there have been numerous precedents set for such direct action and for the accompanying attitudes.

Unrest has been growing in Iowa since the post-war deflation. The situation in which it developed has been largely economic in nature. The index of farm prices stood at two hundred and five in 1920 on a 1909-14 base. In 1926, the index was 136, and by January 15, 1932, it had reached to 63. Following the war-time land boom, tenancy and mortgage indebtedness increased greatly. Taxes in Iowa mounted from around 96 million dollars in 1920 to nearly 110 million dollars in 1930, an increase of 14 million dollars in the ten year period. Other fixed charges in the form of interest and cost of farm machinery remained at near war-time price levels in the face of incomes that were steadily lowered. When the Federal Reserve Banks called in their loans in 1921, seventeen Iowa banks failed,

which was five more than had suspended operations in the previous eleven years. These bank suspensions steadily mounted to 97 in 1927 with liabilities of over 41 million dollars, receded for a time between 1927 and 1930, and climbed to 208 suspensions in 1931 with over 86 million dollars liabilities. Farm foreclosures by insurance companies mounted from two in 1921, involving 280 acres of land, to 476 foreclosures in 1928, involving more than 93 thousand acres and over seven million dollars costs to the companies.

This economic condition created a situation in which many Iowa farmers thought it necessary to curtail their expenses and reduce their standard of living. Many who had become habituated to the use of devices which made farm work easier and life on the farm more pleasant found that they had to dispense with these improvements. Radios were discarded in large numbers. Whole localities had their telephones disconnected. Farmers and their wives demitted from lodges. Membership in farm organizations decreased markedly. Car registration fell perceptibly. "Old Dohbin" found her status once more secure as tractors were discarded. Farm children were taken out of school or not given an opportunity to attend college. Farmers cured their own hams and lived off the land. Things which the land did not provide, they bartered for. Needed farm improvements were delayed in hope that better days would soon arrive.

Throughout rural Iowa one could sense a growing feeling of restlessness. At the cross-roads, "the depression" became a major topic of conversation and there was

¹ Presented before the rural sociology section of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, June 29, 1933.

a growing conviction that "the American farmer was being denied an American standard of living." Farmers began to listen to the stories of their neighbors rather than those of Farm Bureau leaders. They protested anything which caused them to pay more taxes or reduce further their standard of living. In the fall of 1931, Iowa saw the troops called out to suppress revolting farmers in Cedar county; the immediate cause of the outbreak being an objection to the state compulsory tuberculin test. Soon the random verbal protests became organized into scattered protest meetings. By the early winter of 1932 the press began to comment on the radical nature of these gatherings. There was a growing conviction that before the year was over the Iowa prairies would be "on fire." The "fire" came in the late summer of 1932 and presented itself in many ways. At this point I propose to set before you some of the features of this unrest. I shall consider, in order, the following suggestive points: issues, enemies, techniques, changed attitudes of deference, and press reactions. I shall conclude with the presentation of a few suggestive problems for study.

The issues and conditions which have aroused the farmers of Iowa to direct action, to verbal protest, and to political action do not seem to be very different today from what they have been since the founding of the nation. Unrest, accompanied by some violence, seems at least to be the experience of every generation, if it is not as periodic as our major depressions have been. The farmers of Western Massachusetts in 1786 thought their troubles rested in such issues as the scarcity of currency, falling prices, high fixed charges, and a burdensome indebtedness. Through the Granger movement, the Alliance and Populist revolt, the early history of the Farmers' Union, and up to

the present, there has been a fundamental likeness in the things at which the farmers growled. The conviction that the middle-men and the grain exchange people were to blame for the condition of the farmers of the Northwest was present in the Nonpartisan revolt despite relatively high war-time prices.

"When the international harvester people need some money to buy more diamonds or poodle dogs for their wives they just add a dollar or two to the price of a harvester and Uncle Reuben at the cross-roads pays the extra price." Thus spoke Mr. Robert Moore, organizer for the Farm Holiday Association, to three hundred farmers assembled in the Court House in Dennison, Iowa. In addition to the harvester people, the farmers have a long list of enemies whom they are fighting. The list includes bankers and brokers; grain and produce exchange men; city school teachers, doctors, and lawyers; insurance agents; representatives of the city press; land agents; speculators and gamblers. These "enemies of the most powerful group of voters in the nation" have remained almost the same throughout each period of rural unrest, though the characterization has changed from one period to another. They were fat and sleek and gave their children the advantage of a good education during the Granger period. Today they are the exploiters, parasites, and racketeers who deny the farmer a respectable standard of living so that they can buy poodle dogs and diamonds for their wives. At times the enemies were depicted by an expert verbalist as personalities—"Governor," "Rockefeller," "Alexander Legge," "That damned county agent," "Hoover, Hyde, Hell and Hard Times,"—but more often they were lumped into a great pile and called the "city" or "big business." The "city" then tended to emerge as a

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giant personality symbolizing the great foe to "right" and "justice."

Into this situation of random and unorganized restlessness came hordes of speakers with bags full of appeals. All had the same repertoire. First they named the organization which they sought to build up. The Farmers' Holiday, The Modern '76-ers, The Royal Order of Picketers, The Farmers' Union, The United Farmers, and The Defense Council were a few of the names with which these organizations were christened. They represented things to be desired—relief from tension, reversion to historic heroism, united action, and the defense of family and home. Further, the names were not divisive as were the names of the various commodity coöperatives. Just how many farmers are members of these organizations cannot be ascertained, but statements are repeatedly issued in the "name of hundreds of thousands of farmers."

Next, if the farmers are "to take a step forward" by joining one of these organizations, they must be convinced that the step which they are about to take is a rational and intelligent one. "Big business combined and organized and wasn't called radical—it was applauded." Documents are quoted and long stories told to illustrate the rational basis of the organization. It is also important to dispose of the irrational solutions to the farmers' difficulties. The false prophets and irrational solutions are political organizations, agricultural colleges, extension workers, and commodity coöperatives which "have no teeth in them." Soon, the cause, in addition to being rational and intelligent, is also "right" and "just" and being such it behooves everyone to fight for it—it becomes a duty to one's group. If the "farmers continue to follow the false prophets they will lose all caste and status and be forced to re-

vert to tallow candles and wooden shoes."

The leaders have a plan to propose as a way out of the difficulties. The plan is to withhold farm produce from the market and thus subdue the city into submission in an effort to gain "cost of production." This strike is to be non-violent but there "will always be some fools on the highway who won't stay at home and we must be out to peacefully convince them of their mistakes in attempting to market their goods." Another plan or purpose is to prevent forced sales. "Where the Farmers' Holiday Association is organized there are no foreclosure sales," is their boast.

Verbal activity is not the only means the farmers use to express themselves. The transformation of verbalisms into direct action, as has already been indicated, is another form of expression. Milling crowds of men stopped foreclosure sales from Ohio to the Dakotas. The five and ten cent sale became a commonplace when the sales could not be stopped. Sheriffs, lawyers, insurance company representatives, and even a judge were treated to violence by these men in an effort to "save the home and preserve the cause." A bank was broken into and the note case destroyed. County agents were forcibly evicted from their offices in county buildings, and in the words of an Iowa Senator, "Pickets of poverty patrolled the road to ruin" in an effort to secure "cost of production." The violence ceased only when, as a counter attack, the State called out the troops.

Verbally, little faith is evidenced in political action. A leader of the Farmers' Holiday Association said: "We were promised farm relief—we were relieved, of our farms, homes, and savings." However, political action did become another means by which the farmers expressed their feelings. They put Iowa in the Democratic camp for the first time since

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the Civil War. This upsurge of political change was viewed by many as more of a desire for change from the status quo than as a pro-Democratic vote. That this change was rural is evidenced in the fact that the Hoover counties of Iowa were the urban counties.

The verbalisms of this episode are different from those used in the past farm movements, but the theme remains essentially the same. The slogan "cost of production" appeared in the Granger movement and in the Alliances. The actual method proposed and used, that of direct action, is little different from that used in Shay's Rebellion, The Whiskey Rebellion, Dorr's Rebellion, and numerous milk strikes. Shay's rebels pricked the ribs of Judge Artimus Ward with their bayonets in 1786 and closed many of the courts of Common Appeals. Lawyers and law enforcement officers have often been openly opposed by labor and farm groups alike.

Political action has been resorted to repeatedly. It is doubtful, however, if direct action as a philosophy has ever reached, in America, such heights in the past among the farmers as it has reached in the present movement. Direct action is preached because "all other methods have failed." Traditional deferences to certain officials and institutions had broken down before in much the same manner.

There is some possibility that a unique change in deference is occurring along the line of the farmers' professed loss of faith in education and extension service. Historically, educational institutions and extended educational programs had enjoyed considerable prestige. The majority of the rural people have willingly voted taxes upon themselves for educational purposes. Iowa increased its district school appropriation from 13 million dollars in 1912 to over 47 million dollars in 1930. Appropriations for the state

schools show a similar rise. In the past "production" was "good" and "right" and the policy of "making two blades of grass grow where one grew before" combined with "education for cooperation" was looked upon as a solution for economic ills. Today the farmers are saying: "Schools cost too much." "Teachers are paid too much money." "We are going broke supporting our schools." "I say abolish the county agent." "He was wished on us by the state college." "This agricultural college stuff is all ballyhoo." "They are only teaching us to become better peasants." The leaders of the Holiday movement never miss a chance to capitalize on these expressions of opinion. They burlesque the extension workers' efforts to teach the farmers' wives how to back cloth with burlap by saying: "The gunny sack is the farmers' new mode of full dress. A la 1932, you cut a hole in the end of a gunny sack, put your head through the hole and pin up the bottom with a safety-pin and call yourself well-dressed."

The local school board elections also bring to light the extent of this seemingly changed deference to educational values. The issues in many school elections this past spring revolved around "preserving the school" which meant keeping vocational, mechanical, and commercial subjects in the curriculum, and "cutting the taxes" which meant the dropping of these subjects from the list. In nearly every case the latter group won the election contest.

The literature of the Farmers' Holiday Association characterize the "Farm Bureau as an organization designed to nurture the colleges and their army of job holders and the 4-H clubs as feeders for these institutions," which should "grow up to thistles if they can't support themselves." Further, they say, "the two

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bladers" are responsible for most of the trouble because their policies have resulted in over-production. The change can also be seen by observing that some county agents have been forcibly evicted from their offices.

We are, as yet, too close to this movement to know if this is a fundamental change. One is inclined to be a little suspicious in view of the traditional pride the people of the Middle West have had in their educational institutions. Further, one cannot always be certain just how much of this agitation is farmer born. In a few instances, I have observed that some bankers and business men, who were interested in the lowering of local taxes, took the lead in this activity and were more or less meekly followed by the farmers.

Certain alarmists and the public press attempt to convince the general public that the men who have this general set of ideas and act in this "mob like way" are not farmers. If they are farmers they are shiftless and belong to the "lunatic fringe" says one great metropolitan daily. Other groups have convinced themselves that the leaders are imported labor radicals, or worse, communists. Sometime ago Harry A. Jung of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation was reported to have addressed a group of people in Sheldon, Iowa, and to have told his hearers that the United Farmers and the Farm Holiday people were being led by communist agitators. A student of history could have predicted the appearance of such stories. Shay's Rebellion was characterized by the Boston press as being instigated by the British. Politicians

and the public press weren't sure whether the French or the British were the cause of the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794. The press was certain that the Germans were behind the Nonpartisan League's activities in North Dakota and in Minnesota.

These materials, sketched in this brief manner, suggest a number of possible problems for study. I shall indicate only a few, in the form of questions, for your consideration. In the first place, is the present unrest episode simply an event in a recurring cycle? Secondly, is this episode unique? Even if we should find that the symbols, enemies, issues, objects of deference, and public reactions are the same from period to period, is it not possible that a changed setting gives new meanings to them and therefore make of this episode something unique? Can we find any parallel to the apparent changed deference to educational values? In the third place, is there any evidence that the farmers have in the past or are now creating a social movement comparable to the peace movement, the anti-slavery movement, or the temperance movement. Can we find any great guiding myths that the farmers have which carry over from one period to another? Do we find an increasing severity in the recurrence of these episodes? Lastly, if there is no social movement in process of formation, why is such the case? Is the American farmer essentially a speculator as some people maintain? Does our nation have such a capacity for ameliorative law that it is able to absorb each episode and thus prevent the development of a social movement? Will such a movement be possible now that our frontier no longer exists?

HOW TO STUDY THE SOCIOLOGY OF DIRECT ACTION FARMERS' MOVEMENTS¹

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THE general objectives of a sociological study of direct action farmers' movements are identical with those of all scientific inquiry, namely, the decrease of uncertainty and the increase of predictability concerning the phenomena under observation.

By preliminary survey and by intensive study of direct action farmers' movements three things ought to be accomplished. First, we need a study of the factors and conditions out of which these movements spring; second, we need to know how they arise, develop, and decline; and third, we need dependable estimates of their effects upon other farmers' organizations and upon the whole course of rural social organization. The first two of these points are covered in this paper, while Professor Wakeley has included the third in his discussion in this number of *SOCIAL FORCES*, pp. 380-385.

Preceding the intensive study of one or more of these movements it is advisable to make a fairly complete survey of all of them as they have appeared in the course of American history.

This brings forward the question of criteria for distinguishing those movements from other farmers' movements. Obviously they are different with respect to the methods employed for the attainment of goals. The use of the strike, of

picketing, of demonstrations, in which numbers are physically assembled, contrasts with the indirect methods employed by other farmers' movements, in which emphasis is placed upon educational and legislative activities and the use of voting strength at the ballot box.

The geographic area in which each movement occurred, and the extent of its duration in time, are preliminary considerations which should be determined by units which are as precise as can be used with the information available. Population centers or areas in which meetings, demonstrations, or outbreaks occurred, and avenues of communication which drew concerted action should be indicated. These and similar data are important not only for the identification of each movement but for purposes of comparison or correlation with factors and events occurring simultaneously, preceding, or following the movement.

Most essential in this projected survey is the discovery and description of the basic factors which play a part in the origin of direct action movements. What are the principal factors which contribute to their origin and appearance? Two main groups may be distinguished: the more strictly economic factors, and the organizational factors. Among those which first command attention are such economic factors as: type of agriculture, principal commodities produced for the market, rainfall cycle, marketing facilities, prices, mortgages, and taxes. The following group of factors concerning social organization demand equal if not greater attention: facilities for education in agri-

¹ This paper, with the kind permission of the author, has been condensed from the original longer discussion as presented before the rural sociology section of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, June 29, 1933. Consequently, much of the interesting illustrative material has necessarily been omitted.—

The Editors.

cultural sciences, coöperative marketing and purchasing associations, general organizations for promoting the legislative interests of the farmer, proximity to cities, population distribution due to migration, and traditions, nationality, and religion.

Relevancy to the question must, of course, be a primary consideration in choosing the factors to be studied, but availability of materials may tend to weight the importance of some factors unduly. Federal and state data, for example, with respect to principal commodities produced by counties is much more plentiful than data regarding the Farmers' Union.

For each movement it will be important to carefully select those factors which seem most important and to mentally reproduce their convergence in time and space, so as to tentatively account for the appearance of the direct action movement in question.

With the survey of originative factors, it is very likely that factors in the decline and termination of direct action movements will also come to light. Changes in rainfall, in prices, within the movement itself, in governmental policies, and similar influences will appear. At any rate, these factors should be identified and related to the changes which take place in the movement as definitely as is practicable.

This preliminary survey will identify the various direct action movements as to place, time, and designation, and will select and describe the factors which have contributed toward their rise and decline. This will make it possible to select the common factors which generally appear preceding any direct action movement and thus will throw considerable light on the extraordinary situation faced by farmers who resort to short-cut meth-

ods of securing what they want. The extent to which the objectives of these movements have been attained will also be tentatively determined.

The preliminary survey will no doubt seem to bring out the fact that we know very little about farmers' direct action movements. The study of these movements after they have passed into history puts a serious handicap upon the careful and objective observer and interpreter who proposes to increase our understanding of them. They differ from other farmers' movements and organizations in the matter of leaving records of the activities of officers and members, since often they are too short-lived to give much attention to formal procedure. More serious in this connection, however, is the fact that their method of action is not conducive to the making of exact records even if records are made.

The paucity of our knowledge about these movements would be illustrated if one were to extend the study of factors made in the preliminary survey into territory not disturbed by direct action movements, and were to find that geography, crops, prices, population characteristics, and organizational life correspond closely to the same factors in territory where these movements occurred. Naturally the investigator would ask: "Why did not one of these movements break out in this county? Under conditions which doubtless are exceedingly similar, a movement appeared in a neighboring county." Evidently the combination of a number of factors sets the stage for the appearance of the movement but does not possess anything like inevitability. There is a lack either in the number or in the combination of factors. This points to the need for more intensive investigation.

An intensive study of a direct action movement must of necessity be carried

on while the movement is in progress if the investigator is to have a chance to take account of phenomena which, in the nature of things, must be studied at first hand. The obvious advantage of a first hand study is that the investigator will not likely miss so many of the factors which enter into the situation as he would otherwise, while the disadvantage lies in the lack of perspective and in the absence of criteria for weighting the various factors according to their relative importance. On the other hand, post-mortem studies often are carried on with a false sense of perspective and balance due in part to over-simplification both as to the number of factors and as to their relationships. The sociologist's distinctive contribution toward the scientific study of direct action farmers' movements can be made (1) in the observation at first hand of group phenomena and group relationships which, however, temporary and elusive enter strategically into the actual operation of these movements; and (2) in relating these temporary and elusive group phenomena and relationships to the more permanent and the more tangible group phenomena and relationships which have come in for considerable objective observation on the part of social scientists.

Having found the place and the time in which the selected movement became observable the investigator now finds a new factor added to the situation. It is the direct action movement itself. Hitherto the factors contributing to its appearance have been all-important; now the movement becomes a most important factor, changing the significance of the other factors as it follows its course and, to be certain, being affected by the entire process. Hitherto the movement of the farmer and his family living in the area under observation has included soil, crops, rainfall, facilities for marketing,

schools, farmers' organizations, etc.; now it includes the Farmers' Holiday movement, the Penny Auction Movement, or the Milk Strike. Not only is the environment, and consequently, the behavior of the farmer changed, but, when the movement has run its course, change will still be there. In other words, the passing of a direct action movement is not sufficient to terminate its influence. The aftermath of these movements may well be assigned a place of special importance in the plans of the investigator.

Having taken account of the interplay of factors which gave rise to the movement and being aware of the significant part which it now plays as a part of the environment of any of its phases, events, or products, attention should be turned to certain specific aspects of the movement such as: leaders, leader-follower relationships, devices used by leaders, the crowd, and stimulus-response processes which appear in crowd control.

The student of a direct action movement will find it necessary to give much attention to the interplay of events which results in the separation of a few individuals from the people at large and brings them forward as leaders. One train of events may be the product of the principal factors examined in the preliminary survey and consequently the leader may emerge from the group which participates in movement. Another train of events may be but distantly related to the principal factors and the leader may be imported from outside. Whatever the background of the leader, his behavior will be more objectively and more understandingly observed if attention is given to his past experiences. One of the important facts in the identification of the leader may well be the solution which he offers for any one of the many complex problems which the farmer is facing. Is it simple, easily understood,

and yet adequate and applicable to the complexities of the present situation and able to effect the results promised?

Leaders constitute the hierarchies (using Lippmann's term) of these direct action farmers' movements. What privileges do they expect to gain by their action? What advantages do they hope to reap for themselves? Given a plan or solution and a motive for advocating it, the leader must also possess prestige. What are the sources of the leader's prestige?

Since, by and large, leadership is concerned with the relations between the "few" and the "many" in a given movement, the "many" relative to the "few" being somewhere "behind," the rank and file of a direct action movement constitute another aspect of this phase of the investigation. While leaders construct, devise, and negotiate, the masses furnish pressure and drive. How does each leader handle the followers? The procedures by which a greater or lesser degree of unity and pseudo-consent are secured in the rank and file, include oratory, the use of slogans, verbal symbols, personalization, and similar devices. In oratory, for example, one should look for: avoidance of argument, clear direct statements characterized by a partial adherence to fact, systematic repetition, and direct appeal to the known desires of the listeners, as techniques for securing unity without gaining real consent. As another example, personalization is a device by which a verbal symbol such as "The Interests," "Big Business" and similar characterizations are identified with a person closely associated with the supposed activities represented by the symbol.

Verbal symbols employed in a movement are important and deserving of close study: as to their sources, as to the means by which they are planted in the minds

of the many and as to the associations or connotations which make them effective. As an example: if certain farm lands are to be sold to satisfy the claims of mortgage holders and direct action leaders wish to arouse antagonism toward foreclosures, they will make use of the symbol "home" rather than the term "farm lands" in stirring people into action against the proposed sales.

However, in all his observations the investigator must be careful to distinguish between his own interpretation of the behavior of leader and followers and their interpretation of their own behavior and the behavior of those associated with them in the movement.

The crowd, in direct action farmers' movements, represents a characteristic group of phenomena. Crowd phenomena are said to be the result of hidden forces in the personal and the unconscious self which are merely released by gatherings of a certain sort. The assumption is that below the threshold of consciousness the deeper phases of human nature are continuously held in leash and that the opening of a door permits them to break out. A more workable concept for research purposes, is that the crowd is a characteristic response to a series of stimuli and that it may be observed as a stimulus-response process. There is no assumption that the observation of stimuli-response patterns exhausts all of the possibilities of research about crowds, but it seems clear that objective observation must needs be made along these lines. At first large patterns may be roughly distinguished and defined by the investigator, then studied in detail.

The cases of two "penny-auctions" will illustrate. A considerable number of farmers in an Ohio county had made loans with a loan company in the county seat, the rate of interest being 3 per cent

per month. Many borrowers were delinquent. Finally, the loan company sent out *at one time* at least 40 or 50 letters demanding settlement. This occurred just before a sale of chattels held by this company to satisfy their claims on a borrower. Among those who attended the sale were practically all of the borrowers who had received the threatening letter. These constituted a rather well-defined group. Some of these were considered "good pay" by their neighbors and others "poor pay." The neighbors in attendance at the sale who felt that those who were "good pay" were being unjustly threatened constituted another group. These combined groups gave strength to the penny auction procedure. One group was composed of farmers who were themselves in danger of being "sold out," while the other was composed of farmers who did not want to see good neighbors stripped of their possessions and forced into a social-economic status below that which they held, precariously to be sure. It is important to see that this quiet and deliberate resistance to forced sales did not produce crowd phenomena. Some time later another sale was held and new elements were injected into the situation. At this later sale certain communists from a nearby city were present and they took occasion to distribute some of their literature. Members of the American Legion promptly collected the literature and burned it on the spot. Meanwhile some one produced an American flag, it was fastened to an improvised staff, and the auctioneer called upon all present to salute it. This was done. The sale then proceeded, but meanwhile the gathering had been turned into a crowd.

A detailed study of the sequence of events given above would not only add content to the rough outline suggested but would furnish qualitative and per-

sonal materials which would increase the trustworthiness of the description and would establish a more adequate basis for interpretation. Repeated observations in detail would lead to tentative generalization.

In a similar manner the patterns which appear in the terminating phases of a movement require study. For example: another "penny auction" took place with the usual bidding technique, but the farmer afterward made a satisfactory settlement with the loan company, which now appeared willing to accept final settlement on more reasonable terms than formerly. In addition, the farmer was concerned about his credit standing in general and chose to ignore his strategic advantage in the immediate situation. Meanwhile the governor appointed a county mortgage committee, an instrument for adjusting differences between debtors and creditors, and an influential farmer on this committee appeared at several gatherings including auctions and discussed the details of agricultural relief which should receive national attention. State and Federal legislation regarding mortgage indebtedness came next in order and for the time being the foreclosures have ceased and direct action with them.

The investigator must be careful not to assume that all of the concepts which appear in even the most authoritative literature about crowds are useful in scientific investigation. It would seem the better procedure not to assume too much about what to look for in crowds and to concentrate upon alert and tireless observation and the employment of simple and workable conceptual patterns with which to initiate observation.

These and other temporary and elusive phenomena, which play so important a part in the actual operation of direct action farmers' movements, deserve in-

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tensive study, not only in order to secure the facts and to discern the constellations or patterns in which they appear, but in order to relate them to the more permanent and the more tangible group phenomena and relationships of rural life and of society as a whole.

It is necessary to discern the more important relationships between direct action farmers' movements and the complex of agencies, institutions, and corresponding functions, which play so important a part in rural social organization. This complex includes the structures and activities employed to carry on production, marketing, credit, legal procedure, communication, education, government, religion, and primary group life. The preliminary survey of economic and organizational factors has already prepared the ground for this stage of the investigation but relationships there tentatively set up may now be traced carefully as to their points of origin and as to their sequences and ramifications. These relationships may then be characterized and classified.

In conclusion the question may well be asked: "To what extent can the general objectives of this investigation be realized?" First of all we may greatly increase our certainty as to the areas in which these movements will most prob-

ably occur and as to the time during which they may be expected. These areas will contain combinations of factors and conditions which, as they approach certain points of convergence, will be most likely to result in direct action. Second, it will be possible to predict the course and outcome of certain phenomena connected with these movements so that, by anticipation, the energies of farmers who have been aroused by the turn of events may be directed into more promising channels of action. Thus the spread of such movements may be more definitely controlled. In the third place, we may more certainly anticipate the consequences of these movements as to their effects on other farmers' organizations and upon the whole social order. These attainments should enable the sociologist to intelligently advise administrators as well as the general public in whose hands lies the authority to deal with these movements. Meanwhile readjustments in our total scheme for regulating the farmers' share of our national income may, if courageously carried out, remove the pressure of some of the economic factors which have operated so as to drive many farmers into direct action movements in the desperate hope that some advantage might result therefrom.

HOW TO STUDY THE EFFECTS OF DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENTS ON FARM ORGANIZATIONS¹

RAY E. WAKELEY

Iowa State College

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

THE usual way of approaching this question has been by use of the historical method. Enough of the history of farm organizations has been written to indicate that the farmer movements have been the greatest builders and the greatest destroyers of farm organizations in the United States. Not all farmer movements in the past have used direct action technique but the possibility or the threat of it has been present to a degree in all farmer movements and these movements have seriously affected farm organizations whether or not direct action materialized.² In fact, history indicates that relationships established between the movements and farm organizations may have been an important factor in encouraging or discouraging the use of direct action. The policies of different farm organizations in relation to direct action movements in the United States and the effects of the movements on different farm organizations are summarized briefly here as a background for the study of the effects of movements on farm organizations in Iowa since 1929.

The Patrons of Husbandry, popularly known as the Grange, conceived by its

¹ This paper, with the kind permission of the author, has been greatly condensed from the original longer discussion as presented before the rural sociology section of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, June 29, 1933. Consequently, much of the interesting illustrative material and details of methodology and procedure have necessarily been omitted.—*The Editors.*

² The term "direct action" is used in this paper to mean actual or threatened violence to person or property.

founders as a farmers' fraternal organization with a social and educational program, was overwhelmed in its beginning by the farmers' movement in the midwest following the Civil War. Because of its radical coöperative program and its non-partisan participation in political campaigns little direct action materialized on the part of farmers. With the culmination of its radical program the Patrons of Husbandry declined precipitously in membership and influence and has never since been strong in those areas which furnished the strength of its radical development. Though captured and almost destroyed by the movement element the Grange escaped by moving eastward where it has built up a conservative organization which has never again been associated with or greatly influenced by direct action movements.

The Grange has recognized other opportunities to adopt a more liberal policy toward direct action movements and a more radical program. At the forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Grange, held at Atlantic City in November, 1910, the report of a committee on the Good of the Order contained a reference to the need for a more liberal program. Yet, year after year the Grange refused to be moved, continued the more conservative program envisioned by its founders, and remained the farm organization most able and willing to tolerate and coöperate with other agencies, both radical and conservative.

The Farmers Alliance was a national farm organization which built its strength up in the first place by the consolidation

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of several so-called protest groups of farmers in the east, midwest and south, and by confederation with other organized groups including the Knights of Labor. The more conservative leaders of the Farmers Alliance persistently attempted to steer it away from partisan politics. However, following some local political successes in 1890, the Farmers Alliance was drawn into the vortex of the Populist Party movement and was destroyed by the movement it sought to assist.

Farmers Coöperative Marketing Associations in the United States have been variously affected by direct action movements. For example, direct action had its place in the program which led to the formation of the New York Dairymen's League in 1916. Following the World War and the decline in farm prices in 1920, a movement for coöperative marketing was general enough to lead to the development of large coöperative marketing associations on a commodity basis, regional in scope, which were to control the prices of commodities marketed by them. During this movement in 1922, the Dairymen's League participated by changing the form of its organization to a true coöperative association. Direct action is still approved by most milk bargaining associations as a means to compel recognition of their demands by large city distributors. But recent direct action groups in Wisconsin have attacked the commodity principle of coöperative marketing because, among other reasons, it seemed to interfere or be inconsistent with the maintenance of a solid front in the direct action movement.

The Farm Bureau was organized by farmers with some encouragement from public agencies in response to a general demand for a movement toward needed economic services which public agencies were unable to perform for them. Kile³

³ O. M. Kile. *The Farm Bureau Movement*. Macmillan, 1922.

indicates that this was a characteristic farmer movement without direct action. Following the price decline of 1920 and the resulting movement for coöperative marketing in the West and the South the Farm Bureau wavered, almost accepting the movement as part of its program, but in 1923 the conservatives strengthened their control of the national organization and since that time the Farm Bureau has not been favorably disposed toward direct action movements even in the midwest.

The Farmers Educational and Coöperative Union of America, more popularly known as the Farmers Union, is the latest farm organization to embrace a farmer movement in which direct action is involved. Actively interested earlier in the coöperative movement, it has more recently in the mid-west come in conflict with the Farm Bureau and its program. Its leaders and members have opposed the compulsory tuberculin testing of cattle, the granting of county appropriations to County Farm Bureaus, and the granting of state appropriations to agricultural colleges for agricultural extension work. Direct action has been used in all of these activities in Iowa during the past two years. Furthermore, Farmers Union leaders and members have been in sympathy with and have aided farmer strikes, resisted mortgage foreclosures, and forcibly demanded tax reduction. At present, farmers are being urged to join the Farmers Union because it is the farmers class organization.

In one way the policy of the Farmers Union differs from the Farmers Alliance. While Farmers Union leaders and members encourage the formation of Protective Associations, Tax payers Leagues, the Farmers Holiday Association and other organizations advocating or using direct action, they participate in these activities as members of the direct action groups, and the technique of direct action thus

does not become an official part of the Farmers Union program. This is a new element in the present situation which permits the widest possible participation in direct action. At the same time by this policy the Farmers Union leaders hope and plan to avoid for that organization the fate of other farm organizations which have embraced a direct action program.

History indicates that direct action movements arise through the operation of forces not under the control of farm organizations. Historically there has been little agreement either in the policy of farm organizations toward direct action movements or in the relationships between the movement and the organization. Though farm organizations have been affected quite differently by these movements, few have escaped them. Most direct action movements develop outside farm organizations but a farmer movement which becomes identified with a farm organization usually avoids the use of direct action. In this connection the historical record does not indicate clearly whether the farm organization exerts a restraining influence, whether it substitutes an organized group technique for crowd action, or whether the farm organizations accept only the less militant, so-called constructive, movements in which direct action appears to be lacking. The immediate effect of direct action movements is usually favorable to those farm organizations which are sympathetic or favorable to them. Identification of a farm organization with a widespread farmers movement has resulted in remarkable increases in membership in the organization followed by a rapid decline as the force of the movement was spent. Under such circumstances the farm organization may be destroyed as was the Farmer's Alliance or, like the

Grange, it may again develop in other places with a different program.

Historical analysis furnishes some valuable examples of the effects of direct action movements on farm organizations, it also furnishes some valuable leads for investigators of this problem but it does not over-simplify the task by furnishing broad generalizations which apply to all situations. The effects of direct action movements depend upon circumstances—upon the situation—and situations vary. The first task is to study the kind of situation involved in the movement, in the farm organizations, and in the relations between them.

THE STUDY OF A TYPICAL SITUATION—IOWA

Direct action movements have appeared intermittently in Iowa since the World War, reaching their climax in the period between the summer of 1932 and the spring of 1933. Direct action activities during this time include certain war-time activities such as the forced purchase of government bonds, the discolorative painting of buildings and neighborhood ostracising of the unpatriotic; the cow war, so-called, in which the militia was called into action to assist state and local veterinarians with the tuberculin testing of cattle; the organization of tax-payers leagues which protested and fought against appropriations for tuberculin testing of cattle, for county farm bureaus and for agricultural extension work; and the stopping of tax sales and mortgage foreclosures as well as the strikes and the picketing activities in connection with the farmers holiday movement. During the same period other movement activities, such as the consolidation of schools, the building of improved highways, organization for coöperative marketing, the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the repeal of the eighteenth amendment

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did not involve direct action and in a general way these activities are considered constructive.

While history indicates that the various protective associations, tax-payers leagues, and holiday associations will disappear like the Non-partisan League with changes in the immediate conditions that gave rise to them, new active manifestations of the more general movement will occur. But the frequency and intensity of the outbreaks may be expected to decrease with progress in reconstructing the socio-economic order. This reconstruction is not complete and a majority of the elements which gave rise to the recent direct action demonstrations remain in the present situation to assist in their recurrence. Reforestation, reorganization of the state government, farm aid, or a number of minor issues may easily contribute to and become the focus point of the next outbreak.

Farm organizations in Iowa present varied relationships to this picture. The Grange, the oldest and the weakest of the three, is not actively concerned with the direct action movement. The Farm Bureau, following the collapse of the movement phases of its genesis, is characterized by an unfavorable attitude toward direct action movements, especially toward those which, like the present movement, oppose the Farm Bureau program. The Farmers Union, relatively inactive during the Farm Bureau movement, is quick to seize the opportunity now presented to gain added prestige and increased membership. Relations between the two organizations are not cordial and neither would hesitate to increase its membership and influence at the expense of the other.

The present situation is a complex and challenging one. To show clearly the effects of direct action movements on farm organizations the whole social proc-

ess and the activities involved must be studied against the background of the times.

INFORMATION NEEDED IN STUDYING THE EFFECTS OF DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENTS ON FARM ORGANIZATIONS

It is of the first importance to know what groups are involved in or included as a part of the farmers' direct action movement; the methods and objectives of each; their relative importance; their attitudes toward direct action movements, and the possible extent of their participation in such movements. In addition, there should be detailed information about membership; programs, especially as they affect participation; leader-follower relationships; methods of interaction; attitudes and changes in feeling. All of these involve careful and exhaustive study of the organization previous to, during, and following a direct action movement. For example, the number of members in the farm organization should be secured for several years before the farmer movement becomes active and for several comparable areas where the farmer movement at present is not active, with interest and participation as basic criteria rather than paid membership. Changes in number and character of members during the action must be considered, and also the permanency or ephemeral character of such changes following the movement. Program changes and varying degrees of participation, which may be attributed as either cause or effect of the direct action movement, should be noted carefully. And, manifestly, the leader, since he is likely to be a decisive factor both in the movement and in its effect on farm organization, cannot be overlooked; while the social processes by means of which changes are made or become effective and the complexity of attitudes and variations

in feeling and opinion during the direct action are, without question, factors to be emphasized in any study of the effect of direct action on farm organizations.

METHOD AND PROCEDURE FOR STUDYING THE
EFFECTS OF DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENTS
ON ORGANIZATIONS

The use of the best techniques developed in social participation studies, will obtain reliable results in the hands of well trained rural sociologists. Experience with farm organizations and knowledge of the social psychology of farmer movements are valuable; in their absence the investigator should familiarize himself as rapidly as possible with the organizations studied and take frequent council with unbiased persons who know the local situation and the personalities involved. Investigators must distinguish as definitely and as quickly as possible between fact, opinion, and feeling, but get and use all three. All papers, pamphlets, and other literature of the movement should be available to the investigator. Sayings of the leaders are important and it is very important to check what they say in open meetings with what they say in private interviews. Participants must be depended upon for much of the needed information. Talk to the followers, the rank and file, whenever possible; they frequently look at the movement and the farm organization quite differently from the leaders.

Study the activities of the movement and the organization. News reports will show where to go to get information but they usually give little of it and that mostly on one side of the questions involved. Any single source of information is more than likely to be quite biased and unreliable. Investigators must get both sides of all questions and must check facts with extreme care. What many of the

facts are, the leaders and their followers do not know, and neither undue conservatism nor exaggeration are proof of insincerity or a desire to mislead.

The work of Manny and Smith in Ohio,⁴ of Beers,⁵ and other materials on research in rural sociology published by the Social Science Research Council should be studied by the investigator. These materials make any extended general discussion of method by the present writer unnecessary, but some observations concerning the application of method to this special problem may be timely.

The survey method, used alone, is practically valueless in studying the effects of direct action movements. It is static, while the process of affecting farm organizations is dynamic. While a cross section picture may show the depth to which the damage has penetrated it does not give the history of the organization. If the survey is followed by another at a later date which indicates further change, it neither gives accurate indication of what has happened in the interim nor does it show how the indicated changes have taken place. The direct action movements, characterized by a maximum of feeling and a minimum of organization, often change so completely and suddenly that a survey may miss the most significant developments. Even if it is made while the movement is at its height the survey will maximize the farm organization and minimize the movement because the movement is so much more informal in its organization.

The interview method applied to persons

⁴ T. B. Manny and R. C. Smith. *The Ohio Farm Bureau Federation from the Farmers' Viewpoints*. U. S. D. A. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Preliminary Report, 1931.

⁵ Howard Beers. *The Effect of a Particular Factor upon the Success of an Organization*. Social Science Research Council, Bulletin No. 12, 1933.

and groups is valuable but not infallible. It is more likely to yield results on the economic situation than on the psychosocial. It is more likely to be individual than sociological. Control is difficult and the bias of the interviewer and of the interviewed are certain to enter. If this method is used, a careful and constant check should be made against known facts in the situation and extreme care must be used to preserve the representative character of the sample so that neither side of the question will be unduly emphasized. When the interview is used in studying attitudes these limitations apply with greater force.

Recent developments in the methods for studying attitudes and opinions warrant more careful study of this part of the situation which heretofore has been either neglected or assumed. During the height of the direct action movement attitudes seem unmistakably clear. As the movement fades do the participators in the movement maintain the same undercurrent of feeling toward or against the farm organization or do they change? A simply worded association feeling test might be used here. If lack of change in feeling is indicated it may indicate the presence of a latent crowd, still in favor of direct action but at present dormant. The presence of such a latent or dormant crowd is of tremendous significance for it makes a powerful nucleus for the start of a new movement.

One of the most important results of the general feeling-association test is the location of situations where changes are taking place and where further study of attitudes seems necessary. These more intensive studies can be made by the Thurstone or other similar methods. This method is quite satisfactory in study-

ing simple attitudes but for the study of some of the more complex attitudes or related bundles of attitudes some modification of the method may be advisable.

The studies here proposed must be included for the most part under problem research and several methods must be combined in order to get the information on which a suitable program for the solution of the problem may be formulated. If so complicated a situation might be considered as a case, it would be easy to say that the case study method should be applied to secure a complete case history. Such information, combined with the historical studies of other similar situations, will make the imputation of cause as accurate as may be. Statistical relationships in such studies are easy to make but are relatively few in number. The accuracy of inference here depends more upon intimate knowledge of the local situation and the personalities involved. Rural organization specialists can find to what extent the movement is the cause of the change in farm organization, whether it is a result of change or lack of it in the farm organization or whether changes in both are due to still other conditions, social and economic, affecting both. As a result of such inference they can build a program, it is hoped, which will contribute to the sociological advancement of rural people. The demand for such a program is imperative today. It is poor policy to postpone the research necessary to make progress effective or to maintain that, since rural sociology is commonly considered to feature a long-time program, it can have little to contribute to the immediate solution of pressing present-day problems such as the ones here presented.

NOTES ON SOME THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE EFFECT OF DIRECT ACTION FARMERS' MOVEMENTS ON FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS¹

CARL C. TAYLOR

Division of Subsistence Homesteads

A STUDY of farmers' direct action movements in the United States during the past 150 years, together with a survey of the direct action movements of industrial laborers and the teachings of the anarchists, syndicalists, and others, may well revolve around the following four pertinent inquiries: (1) To what extent, if any, have American farmer revolts and their leaders been influenced by the philosophies, economic and social doctrine, of the direct action theorists? This inquiry is raised partly because of the well known influence of these theories on left wing labor movements. (2) To what extent, if any, have direct action movements among American farmers borrowed, either consciously or unconsciously, patterns from direct action in the labor world? (3) What similarities are there between the conditions which give rise to direct action movements of farmers and other groups? (4) In what ways are direct action farmers' movements typical left wing movements within more general movements?

Posited briefly and more or less dogmatically for the purpose of discussion, it appears first, that there is little, if any, evidence that direct action farmers' movements in the United States have been

motivated by a knowledge of or belief in the basic philosophies of direct action. It seems doubtful whether any of the leaders of American Farmers' direct action groups have read after, or even know of, the great theorists of direct action, although they have at times had some contacts with recognized leaders in the labor world, for, despite instances of violence and sabotage, neither the leaders nor members of the Holiday association seem to have any theories of persistent annihilation of all authority.

In the second place, however, farmers' direct action movements have definitely borrowed patterns from labor organizations. This may well be illustrated by some of the techniques employed such as picketing, sabotage, stoppage of farm mortgage sales and "penny bidding," the demands for debt moratoria. Moreover, the chief explanation of direct action farmers' organizations is to be found in economic conditions similar to those which have given rise to direct action in the industrial field, to some typical basic farmer attitudes, and to behavior patterns which are typical of mob activities. In practically all cases, farmers' direct action movements in the United States have arisen only when distress was widespread among the whole farming class and direct action groups have been the left wing of farm organization, life, and development.

Finally, direct action movements, being made up of left-wing groups, have set themselves off strongly against right-wing or middle-of-the-road farm organizations

¹These notes, with the kind permission of the author, have been greatly condensed from the original longer discussion as presented before the Rural Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society, Summer Conference, Chicago, June 29, 1933. Consequently, much of the interesting illustrative material has necessarily been omitted.—*The Editors.*

and have thus done material damage to these more permanent organizations. It should be noted here that the effects of a left-wing organization on the established class organization have been in both directions; such organizations have at times driven the established organizations further to the right and at times pulled them further to the left. In every instance, it has jeopardized the strength of the established organization for a period of time.

Summing up, it might be said, therefore, that any adequate understanding of

direct action farmers' movements demands a study of attitudes on the one hand and of situations on the other. To these must be added the study of borrowed patterns and the study of direct action leaders. Techniques for many of these have already been developed. What, therefore, is needed is to combine all these techniques into a composite study of specific farmer direct action situations. There have been few, if any, opportunities equal to the present for such a study.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON NATIONAL POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Commission of Inquiry on National Policy in International Economic Relations, appointed by the Social Science Research Council and headed by Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, has the approval of President Roosevelt. At the request of the Council, the Rockefeller Foundation has financed the study. The background, purposes, and method of procedure of the Commission, as outlined by Dr. Alvin H. Hansen of the University of Minnesota, director of research and secretary of the Commission, follow.

Background: The Commission of Inquiry on National Policy in International Economic Relations, recently announced by the Social Science Research Council, is an outgrowth of suggestions made in the report on "Recent Social Trends"—made public in October, 1932, by the President's Committee on Social Trends. It was there suggested that the Social Science Research Council might assume "the initiative toward social planning on a high level, noting incidentally the important advances in industrial and international relations."

Purpose: Appointed by the Social Science Research Council, with the express approval of President Roosevelt, and such of the cabinet members as have been approached, the Commission now sets itself the task: (1) of examining the situation in the United States in which practices and principles of nationalism and internationalism bear on national policy in international economic relations; (2) of canvassing the directions and objectives of American policy, and their results; and (3) of making a report presenting an analysis of the problems involved, together with relevant recommendations.

The objectives to be attained by the United States in any international policy will be studied, as well as the relation of political, economic, and cultural objectives and their reconciliation. Attention will be devoted to the groups or interested individuals that are affected by alternative programs with respect to tariffs, foreign loans, and international monetary transactions. Consideration will be given to a planned domestic economy for the United States that will fit into a world economy.

Specific Questions to be dealt with: The Commission will endeavor: (1) To analyze current opinion on national policy in international economic relations, with respect to the impact of tariffs on domestic industries, foreign trade, foreign investments, long term and short term, international monetary policy, foreign, private and public debts; (2) To determine current tendencies and programs with respect to foreign policy, domestic policies in so far as they affect international economic relations; (3) To evaluate current opinion and American governmental objectives in the light of known trends in the historical position of United States in the world economy, known facts with respect to the current position of American industry and agriculture, known principles of international trade, international capital movements and international monetary policy, current knowledge with respect to the probable impact of alternative programs of national policy in international economic relations on domestic economic stability and economic progress.

The members of the Commission of Inquiry on National Policy in International Economic Relations are: Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, chairman of the Commission; William Tudor Gardiner, chairman of the board, Incorporated Investors, Boston, Massachusetts; Carl L. Alsberg, director, Stanford Food Research Insti-

(Continued on page 405)

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE CULTURE LAG CONCEPT

JAMES W. WOODARD

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I

IN TEACHING the concept of culture lag to undergraduates, the writer has found its apparent objectivity to be a stumbling block. The following critical notes elucidate his own conception of the validity that can be given to this term.

We may start with the concept as expounded by Ogburn: "Where one part of culture changes first, through some discovery or invention, and occasions changes in some part of culture dependent upon it, there frequently is a delay in the changes occasioned in the dependent part of culture;" this delay is the culture lag, "during which time there may be said to be a maladjustment."¹ Or again, "When the material conditions change, changes are occasioned in the adaptive culture. But these changes in the adaptive culture do not synchronize exactly with the change in the material culture. There is a lag which may last for varying lengths of time, sometimes indeed, for many years."²

The concept is usually illustrated graphically in class discussions by using the diagram given in *Social Change*. (See Figure 1.)

¹ William Fielding Ogburn, *Social Change*, p. 201.

² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Thus chalked out on the board like a demonstration in geometry and with the presumption of the possibility of exact measurement of the line (or space) *ab*, the student looks upon the phenomenon of culture lag and the concept of culture lag as being much more objective than they are. And the same is to some small extent true of their instructors.

Let us then examine this concept more critically. Let us start by taking a series of illustrations such as we have seen used in texts or in class discussions.

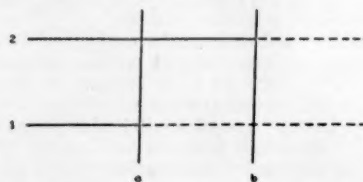


FIG. 1. OGBURN'S GRAPH OF CULTURE LAG

(1) Immigrant women, accustomed to cleaning their cooking utensils in the Old Country by scouring them with the white sands of the beach, continue that custom after moving to our mud-infested shores. The time between their arrival in this country and their cessation of this method of cleansing their milk bottles is the period of culture lag and can be exactly measured.

(2) The Pueblo dwellers long lived at

the inconvenient and inaccessible top of the mesa as a mode of protection against adjacent tribes. The period between the Government's assurance of security to them and the removal of dwellings to the base of the mesa is the period of culture lag.

(3) In the matter of forests, the time between the point at which the cutting of trees became a disservice rather than a service and the point at which we adopted conservation measures is the period of culture lag.

(4) In the matter of workmen's compensation, the time between the rise of this need and the adoption of such acts is a period of culture lag and can be measured.

(5) We have now at our command sufficient knowledge to do away with practically all of the communicable diseases. The time between the mastery of that knowledge and its application to the doing away of those diseases is a period of culture lag.

(6) The patriarchal family was once well adapted to the economic and social order in which it functioned. But in our modern times, with the family stripped of so many of its functions and with the individual the economic unit, certain changes in the family and the status of women are called for. The time between the point at which these became called for and the future point at which the changes will be carried out is a period of culture lag.

(7) Modern conditions of communication, economic interdependence, and humanitarianism are calling more and more for internationalism to replace nationalism. The time between the point at which this is called for and the point at which it is adopted is a period of culture lag.

(8) The complex and interdependent nature of modern society requires that it

be integrated by some central synthesizing agency; and the period until such time as we arrive at socialism, communism, or state capitalism is a period of culture lag.

(9) Biology, psychology, and psychoanalysis have shown the harmful effects of sexual frustration and repression; sociology and cultural anthropology have shown the relativity, or the adventitious nature, of mores and institutions. The time between the rise of these sciences and the replacement of our old sexual moralities by experimentally determined behavior forms adapted to the needs of the individual case is a time of culture lag.

(10) Science has steadily undermined religious tenets. The failure to discard our religious belief systems and ecclesiastical institutions represents a culture lag.

A consideration of the above examples should at once show the reader the subjective nature of the culture lag concept, especially when it is uncritically used. For, starting out with illustrations upon which all would agree, we have proceeded to illustrations upon which little if any agreement could be found. In the example of the milk bottles probably no one would deny but what the particular change is called for and that the culture lag could be accurately measured as the exact time between the first washing of these utensils in disease-infected Hoboken mud and the last washing of them.³ But if the Pueblo dweller, on being interrogated, should answer that he lived at the top of the mesa because it was more comfortable or more healthful, or even, if you please, because he liked the view, then

³ Even here, however, one with the struggle theory of survival of the fittest as his major background, one who is dynamically a hundred percenter and an anti-alien, and, in the case of particular individual immigrants, one who is a rock ribbed eugenicist, could hold out for the continuance of what, under the culture lag concept, is regarded as the period of maladjustment.

the whole conception that here was a case of culture lag in the first place must fall. How much more so when a passing flare-up of the old tribal warfare recurs. Thus the essentially subjective nature of the concept is already apparent.

And from this point on through the remaining eight of our ten illustrations there could be marshalled a rather formidable body of opponents who would maintain that the condition which we describe as one of maladjustment, as one of failing to make changes which are "occasioned," are themselves the desirable conditions; and that these conditions should be continued rather than altered if we would avoid an even greater maladjustment. For the definition of genuine social adjustment is not easy. That is, over against conservation measures with adequate supply of forests is placed a "calling for" of retention of individual rights of property and initiative, with or without adequate forests. Over against adequate care of the worker is placed adequate remuneration to the entrepreneur and to the stockholder and adequate safeguarding of rights of property, investments, and individual liberty. Over against a family adjusted to the economic milieu is placed a family adjusted to so-called "spiritual" values conceived to be more important than the material adjustments involved. Essentially the same may be said of the other categories. There would be anything but unanimity with regard to them, and little possibility of that objective proof which "strict" science demands.

The subjective nature of the culture lag concept thus cannot be escaped. And it is very interesting that, after we have kicked the concept "progress" out of the front door we should find it returning in scientific disguise by a rear entrance. For we must now see that the term culture

lag, unless very cautiously used, not only presumes to tell us what changes are "called for," what changes "ought" to have come about, and so on, but tells us the exact point at which they "should have" come about. Thus it is scarcely too much to say that the average example of culture lag not merely presumes to say what progress is but presumes to tell us how much we have had, how much we ought to have had, and when.

Now this is not true when the concept is cautiously used. There is a legitimate place for the concept of maladjustment, from which that of culture lag derives, in a functional science. And there is a legitimate rôle for inductive appraisals of functional appropriateness. These, when made, involve an "ought" of a sort. But it is not a moralistic ought. It is in the same relation to the moral ought as the evaluations of food made by dietetics are to food taboos. The first are objective, though only in a measure so, disciplined, open to change, and, while artistic, are still inductive. The second are subjective, undisciplined, resistant to correction, and authoritarian. And the full recognition of the cogency and the hazards of appraisals of the first sort is the best antidote for the unrecognized injection of those of the second sort. All this has implications for methodology, and implications for the nature of sociology as a functional science; and we have pointed them out in an earlier article.⁴ The present discussion should be read in that larger context. For if we seem here to be too critical of the culture lag concept, we might there seem to the same reader to be too uncritical of it. We probably accept its implications more thoroughly than most theorists who ac-

⁴James W. Woodard, "Critical Notes on the Nature of Sociology as a Science," *Social Forces*, XI, 28-43 (Oct., 1932).

cept the concept itself without any reservations.

The essentially evaluative nature of the concept may be illustrated by taking one of the examples from *Social Change*, that of reforestation, and analyzing its wording. In the following excerpts from the discussion of conservation the italics are ours and emphasize the vague, the controversial, the subjective, and the evaluative. Or, and more legitimately, that which implies a functional science. "At one time the forests *seemed* to be *too* plentiful." "That the conservation of forests in the United States *should have* been begun early is quite generally *admitted*. . . . The old *policy* of exploitation has hung over longer than it *should* before the institution of the new policy." "We have *not yet* adopted *fully* a *policy* of conservation." "The *conservationists* are far from being *satisfied* with the *progress* of the movement *to date*. Certainly we have not *attained* the *high mark* maintained in Western Europe. . . . Some features of conservation probably *should have* been instituted early in the last century." "The degree of this *adjustment* may be only *more or less perfect* or *satisfactory*. . . . Of a particular culture form such as the family or government, relationship to a particular material culture is only one of its *purposes* or *functions*." "The theory is that the unchanged *adaptive* culture was more *harmoniously* related to the old than to the new material conditions and that a new *adaptive* culture will be *better suited* to the new material conditions than was the old *adaptive* culture. *Adjustment* is therefore a *relative* term, and perhaps only in a few cases would there be a situation which might be called *perfect adjustment* or *perfect lack of adjustment*."⁵ Again, in discussing workmen's compensation, he says, "It *seems*

fair that industry itself *should* bear a part of it."

Now some, though not all, of this terminology is warrantable; though only if we grant that sociology is a functional science and, as a pure science, concerned with such things as adjustment, maladjustment, and changes that are at once called for and resisted. That is my own belief, as I have put forth elsewhere. Indeed, a reference to those writings will show a very high value placed on the culture lag concept—though it will also show an awareness of the inconsistency of that concept with a "strictly" objective, behavioristic, or statistical orientation toward science.

For if we try to take the concept objectively, then its definition becomes nonsense. That is, in a *strictly* objective approach, when one part of the culture changes and occasions changes in another part of the culture, those changes are not "occasioned" until they are *occasioned*. If we are examining a working universe as it works, we have no measure of changes being occasioned until the changes occur. Thus, unless we really mean that changes are called for but fail to occur, that is, unless we interpose an "ought" (perhaps the "ought" of inductive functional appropriateness, not necessarily an authoritarian, intrinsic, or moral "ought"), then the whole definition and concept become nonsense in its own wording. We are left with the simple statement that some things change more rapidly than others.

However, there may be varying objective rates of change in related phenomenal complexes. Or "delayed responses." But not a period of *maladjustment* of *adaptive parts*. I am indebted to Professor Clifford Kirkpatrick for a more precise statement of this cogency resident in the concept after stripping it of its functional conno-

⁵ *Op. cit.*

tations: "The concept of differential social change could be retained without subjectivity, and this might mean something more than the *general* proposition that things do not change at the same rate. There might be significant specific applications with implications. A record of religious behaviour in succeeding generations might show a differential rate of change of ritual as compared with belief. On such a basis, a prediction could perhaps be made of the trend of assimilation of some sacred society into a secular culture. One might contrast the number of changes in court procedure compared with the number of patents issued in a given period of time for a given group without passing any judgment whatsoever. One grants, however, that the term is often, even generally, used with reference to changes that *ought* to take place rather than from a retrospective point of view."

Even in these examples, however, it is difficult to see any usefulness in the concept except as it has functional connotations. And certainly, if we so use it, we must do away with the phrasing, "call for." Many things change at different rates in nature, but we find no point in comparing them unless they be functionally interrelated. The nearest approach would be reference to the "lag" of sound waves behind light waves. Here the physicist would not dream of saying "called for changes, which fail of occurrence." But why is it the belief-system whose rate of change is selected for comparison with that of ritual if not that the two are functionally interrelated so that there is an *inconsistency* between belief and ritual—an inconsistency which becomes consistency when the to-be-predicted "assimilation" occurs? But if conceptual meaningfulness lies wholly in the sheer differentiability of rates of change,

why not pick the changes in card playing customs—whist, euchre, five hundred, auction, contract, new scorings and conventions, etc.—and show a 'lag' of religious ritual behind card games? Or behind modes of acetylene welding? The answer is that, unless there be a functional relationship the term is conceptually meaningless. But a functional relationship imposes functional implications on the terms describing it; functional lag becomes necessarily inconsistency of functioning, maladjustment. Certainly the refined concept is sharply restricted in its applicability and usefulness. In the case of deforestation, for example, it would be difficult to show the differentiability of change in other than functional terms, in terms of maladjustment and called-for-ness.

Although this is a critical note on the culture lag concept, we ourselves value the concept because it is defined by its author in terms of adaptation and maladjustment. Our chief service is in (1) pointing out that we must face the full implications for methodology and for the nature of sociology as a functional science which follow from acceptance of the term in this sense;⁶ (2) pointing out the hazards involved in the use of it; and (3) perhaps in asserting a mild inconsistency between the methodological implications of this concept and the strictly objective methodology which its own author elsewhere holds as almost exclusively valid.

For if now we examine the phrase "called for changes," we see that, on the basis of the above series of illustrations, there are different degrees of that called-for-ness and different degrees of our certainty of it. Thus in the milk bottle

⁶ This was done in the earlier article, already referred to, for which the present discussion was written as an introduction. Exigencies of publication have separated them and given the discontinuity.

instance the changes are *necessitated* (in literary connotation of the term); the voice calling is imperative; it is a matter of survival itself. In the case of reforestation, it is a matter of economy or *convenience*, not yet one of survival. In the case of the Pueblo dwellers it is a matter of convenience or perhaps only of a certain greater *appropriateness*. In the case of our discoveries relative to the communicable diseases the discoveries of the bacteriologists only in a sense "call for" their own application; in a better sense they *render possible* (still in literary connotations) what theretofore, control of these diseases, was already striven for but not yet possible. Thus a more precise definition of the concept of culture lag would have to take these new aspects into account, either by implying them in a general term such as "calls for," or by stating them specifically, thus: When a change in the culture is necessitated, rendered prudent, rendered appropriate, or, when already striven toward, rendered possible by changes in other parts of the culture (or in the biological or environmental elements in the total situation), and when the called-for change fails to occur, the intervening period until it does occur is a period of culture lag. It may be described as a period of relative maladjustment.

Along with these varying degrees of "called-for-ness" of change go also varying degrees of certainty as to its being called for. This we have already pointed out above. Here is where our entire earlier article is in point—in its discussion of *inductive* appraisals of functional appropriateness and their scientific validity in contrast to merely subjective, authorization, or moral "oughts." For future centuries will yield a dictum on those asserted lags that are now controverted; and the culture lag is real even when we cannot yet objectively prove contentions

about it. The nearest approach of the author of the concept to coming to grips with this part of the problem is in the following: "It should not be assumed, of course, that every suggested improvement in the adaptive culture is a real improvement. There are many social reforms in the air today, but certainly not every such suggested reform is *desirable* or will prove *satisfactory*. (Italics ours). Thus there are various plans for dealing with unemployment and some are quite impracticable. Every suggested improvement does not prove that there is a lag."⁷

His most concrete statement concerning the subjective nature of the concept itself is as follows: "It frequently seems to be, in these cases, a matter of argument and opinion rather than a matter of fact. Adaptation is a condition of degree, complete lack of adaptation or perfect adaptation being rare. The lagging adaptive culture will of course have some utility." A careful consideration of this statement in its context will show that its author is aware of the difficulties of establishing the terminal points of the line *ab* rather than concerned with the essentially subjective nature of the concept in its entirety. That is, he is speaking here of its being a matter of opinion *when* the lag began, *when* it ended, and *how great* the maladjustment was, rather than that culture lag itself is a subjective and evaluative concept, with "desirable" and "satisfactory" as its criteria. And rather than seeing that the concept of maladjustment must be frankly faced with all its implications for methodology and for our science if his own term is to have any usefulness at all.

We perhaps do not need to point out that lag may occur between any two interdependent parts of the culture, not alone between the material and the so-called

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

adaptive culture. That has now come to be the accepted connotation of the term. The culture of a group is a functionally interrelated whole; changes in one part eventually bring repercussions in the most distant parts of the culture; and in the process there are maladjustments and aggravations of the strain toward integrated consistency. These are of greater or less degree depending upon how close is the interdependence of parts. Certainly religious beliefs have lagged behind scientific knowledge, though they are both parts of the non-material culture. So have law, jurisprudence, and penology. And the result in all these cases is maladjustment—personal disorganization, social disharmony and pulling at odds, and aggravation of conceptual strains toward consistency. Likewise, new developments in biology, psychology, history, epistemology and methodology, etc., lay imperatives for change on social theories and *vice versa*. Such developments are followed by chaotic states in which various theorists do not speak the same language and are at odds with each other, and during which old conceptual frameworks disintegrate before new ones have been constructed. The same is true of science in relation to philosophy, morality, family systems, economic orders, political theories, and so on. All culture is in some slight degree adaptive to all other parts of the culture; as well as to the biological and environmental conditions of existence; and it is only because some parts are predominantly so that we can single out a portion of the culture and label it the "adaptive culture." That it is *usually* the non-material or that it is the so-called adaptive culture which lags behind the material culture may be true. But, even if true, it is a quite separate proposition. It is not wisely incorporated into the concept of lag itself.

In the instances just used, however, the more precise requirements of the original definition of culture lag, from another aspect, are met, however; they are lags of one part of the culture behind another part with which they are closely interrelated functionally, and which has changed more rapidly than they, thereby producing the state of maladjustment. But when it is by change in some non-cultural factor that a change in the culture is necessitated, shall we still include the case under our concept? Thus if the dwindling of the forests is due, not to the tree-cutting folkways of the pioneers but to some blight or pest, changes in the ways and mores of forest exploitation are called for no less. If they are not made, the result is maladjustment due to the failure of a called-for cultural change. Shall we call it a culture lag? Or shall we withhold that term, merely calling it a maladjustment or something of the sort, for the reason that, while the failure of change is a cultural failure, the need for change is of non-cultural origin?

Also, let us observe that maladjustment is the concept on which the culture lag concept in turn depends. And maladjustment is no less maladjustment whether it is a continuance of a former maladjusted state or whether it is newly precipitated. Shall we then include, along with failures to remedy newly precipitated maladjustments, failures to remedy old maladjustments when new means are rendered available in the cumulating cultural heritage? Is culture lag applicable only when it is a new maladjustment calling for the *devising* of new remedies, or also when it is an old maladjustment calling for the *application* of relatively new, but already present, remedies? For example, after the discovery of the rôle of the *Anopheles* mosquito in malaria, can we call failure of occurrence in the material culture of swamp draining, screens, and the like a

lag of the material culture behind the non-material culture, scientific knowledge? If so must we then even say that, once man has glimpsed the asininity of war (which occasional lone voices proclaimed even among the ancient Greeks) all the subsequent failure to do away with war is an instance of lag of practice behind insight, lag in the diffusion of insight?

The definition must either be broad enough to include lack of called-for cultural change, whatever the source of maladjustment and of the possibility of a better adjustment; or we must self-consciously keep it consistently within arbitrarily defined limits for purposes of terminological precision.

It is always permissible for one to define terms as he pleases, if only he use them consistently. Yet this is never true of a term in its long-run survival within a scientific nomenclature. For the nature of the thesis implicit in any concept must stand survival tests. And the elaboration of the concept must conform to reality both in content and in emphasis. The content of the concept must flow from the configurational imperatives resident in the phenomena themselves, and from the imperatives toward balance and synthesis resident in the long dialectic of the science. In the case of culture lag, we have two elements, "cultural" and "lag." The concept as now used over-emphasizes "cultural," since it includes in the definition only those maladjustments which are *both* culturally precipitated and culturally failed of. Indeed, some limit it further to those maladjustments alone which are precipitated by disparate rates of change in different sections of the culture. And some, narrowing it still further, mean by it only the lag of the so-called adaptive behind the material culture. The more diagnostic element, along with the cultural aspect, however, is the presence of

maladjustment and potential readjustment, from which flows the second term, "lag." And the term must accordingly be extended to include cultural failures of adjustment whatever the source of their called-for-ness. The synthesis, then, will be achieved when we do two things: (1) When we analyze out the factors and processes *blocking* cultural change and making for cultural rigidity—with the cultural factors, important as they are, set in their due perspective. For the original delineation of the culture lag concept treated the factors behind cultural rigidity in an elementary and incomplete fashion. And the synthesis will be achieved when, along with this, (2) we analyze out the factors and processes *calling* for cultural change—with disparate rates of change in different portions of the culture, important as they are, set in due perspective along with other cultural and non-cultural factors.

A more narrowly defined term has been and can still be of considerable usefulness. It is our conception that the broader definition will survive, because it emphasizes more consistently and in a more completely balanced fashion the diagnostic elements in the concept.

To be sure, we can make it a completely objective term, but, in our opinion, only at the expense of having it lose meaning almost entirely, since in a strictly objective view changes are not "occasioned" until they are *occasioned*. But if we leave it with meaning, we must face its methodological implications and its functional implications for our science. And we must be aware of the extent to which it is an artistic rather than an objectively measurable or quantifiable concept. This we can see by comparing its complexity with the apparent objectivity and simplicity of the graphs usually used to illustrate the concept in class discussion.

For if we take any specific instance of culture lag, we see how difficult it is, *e.g.*, really to fix the initial point at which lag begins. Let us take the illustration of workmen's compensation laws, in which the author of the concept himself points out this difficulty. When does the lag in this regard begin in America? Does it begin at that point when industry no longer furnishes the workmen adequate recourse in the instance of injury? If so, it begins with the occurrence of factories themselves, at the Industrial Revolution and begins at a point before the achievement of the concept of workmen's compensation. Indeed, since the best adjustment is prevention of maladjustment in the first place and achievement of positive gains in the highest possible adjustive or functional efficiency, could we then date our lag, not from the time the social engine began to miss fire and stop, but from the time when inspection engineers failed to keep it tuned up to its highest positive working efficiency and designers failed to alter its basic construction? Is the logical conclusion of the maladjustment criterion of occasioned change the calling for change by insight into possibilities of prevention and into the possibilities of achieving greater positive gains of adjustive efficiency? Or, again taking the aspect "renders possible," does lag begin, not with the first inception of the concept of compensation, but rather with the first putting into effect of compensation laws by Bismarck in Germany; so that the United States lags behind a *proved* possibility of better adjustment? But the United States is a wide and diversified area; and the need for workmen's compensation does not descend upon the whole area at the same instant. Thus, in any event, any single line on a graph to represent the need for culture change is bound to be an artistic abstraction. It condenses nu-

merous lines which differ with particular areas, particular industries, and particular divisions and tasks within them.

The same may be said for any line which would represent the bringing about of the called-for change. Ogburn pointed out this difficulty also. Compensation laws occurred first in one state; in the space of very few years sixteen other states had followed suit; after fifteen years, all but six states and the District of Columbia had followed suit; our impression is that some states still have no compensation laws. Thus a series of lines (at least forty-eight) would be needed to represent the bringing about of the called-for change. And each of these lines is in turn an abstraction, a statistical average, representing and at the same time not representing what occurred relative to areas, industries, tasks within them, and the state of enforcement. Further, among these forty-eight states, some of the laws are "satisfactory" and some are not. Before we could join our *separate* lines of change to the lines representing the changes called for, we would have to know whether the waiting period was "short enough," whether the compensation rate was "adequate," whether the weekly maximum or minimum were "adequate," whether the act applied to only particular industries or included those that have been largely neglected, whether the act was compulsory or voluntary, and in the latter case how widely use was made of it; and even whether administration and personnel were actually efficient or whether they were rendered ineffective by, for example, politics. All these things would differ from state to state, that is with each of at least forty-eight lines to represent occurring change. Thus the line representing change is also an abstraction and an artistic interpretation.

And finally, it seldom is true that the

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change called for is called for once and for all to an identical degree. Of this, also, Ogburn seemed aware. Thus our line which represents the change called for may or may not stay on a vertical plane. For conditions may continue to get worse, or may, through some factor or other, get better.⁸ And all of this in its turn would vary from state to state and industry to industry. Thus every line and every point in our diagram is an artistic interpretation at the most, an abstraction at the least, condensing many lines and points, the exact locus of these in turn being only very vaguely susceptible of definition.

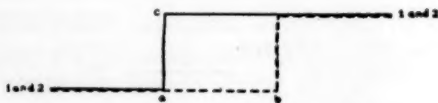


FIG. 2. ADAPTATION OF OGBURN'S GRAPH

When the mores are adapted to conditions, lines 1 and 2 coincide. When there is maladjustment, it is indicated by their lack of coincidence. The time over which the lag persists is represented by the length of *ab*. The extent of the maladjustment by *ac*.

We present a series of graphs contrasting the actual complexity of the concept on the one hand with the apparent objectivity and simplicity implied by the traditional graph. These graphs are schematic rather than of historical accuracy. They do not necessarily impugn Ogburn's graph. That, too, was schematic. And a certain over-simplification in a schematic graph has a real, if limited, usefulness.

Having defined more precisely to our own satisfaction what we mean by the term culture lag, we may next consider

⁸ Indeed, so rapid has change now become in some sections of the culture, that we begin to wonder if we will not henceforth be more or less constantly in a transitional and readjustment period—whether, in a graph of cultural integration in the broad, the dotted line will ever again completely catch up to the solid line.

three hazards in the use of the term. The first is the hazard that it will be taken as an objective term instead of as a subjective one; as a "strictly" scientific term instead of an artistic scientific term. This we have discussed. The second is that it will be mistaken as a functional entity instead of merely a descriptive concept. Sometimes, in the writer's classes, on starting to analyze a case of social rigidity, a student offers to explain why it occurs, and goes on to say that the rigidity is caused by culture lag. For him the further analysis of the processes

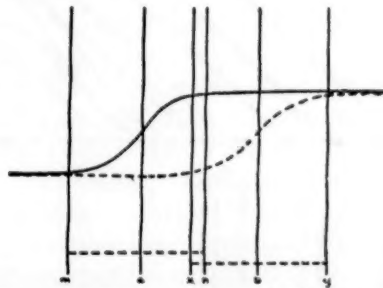


FIG. 3. But changes are not called for all at once. Hence the placing of *a* at a definite point within the space *mn* (from the time the first changes are called for to the time when conditions cease to call for further and further changes) is a matter of artistic interpretation. Similarly difficult is the exact location of *b* within the space *xy* (from the time the first changes are made to the time when a complete readjustment has been effected).

involved in bringing culture lag about is quite unnecessary. The name, in itself only a name for the condition to be explained, has become an explanation. And we have seen similar lapses on the part of sociologists of wider background. This, however, is a hazard run by all names and by all language. The third hazard is that, overlooking its interpretational and evaluative aspects, those who propose certain changes may unwittingly use the term as a mechanism of control by shibboleth to obviate further critical thinking. Thus in endless instances in personal conversation with others in the field of so-

ciology, they have referred to the points of view of those with whom *they* are in disagreement, or have referred to the failure of particular changes which *they* wish to see brought about in the culture, as instances of culture lag; with the as-

little doubt in anyone's mind but that it represents a reality in social phenomena. If in our phrasing of it we make it to mean the failure to occur of any called-for culture change; if we see, at its worst the subjective nature of the concept, at its

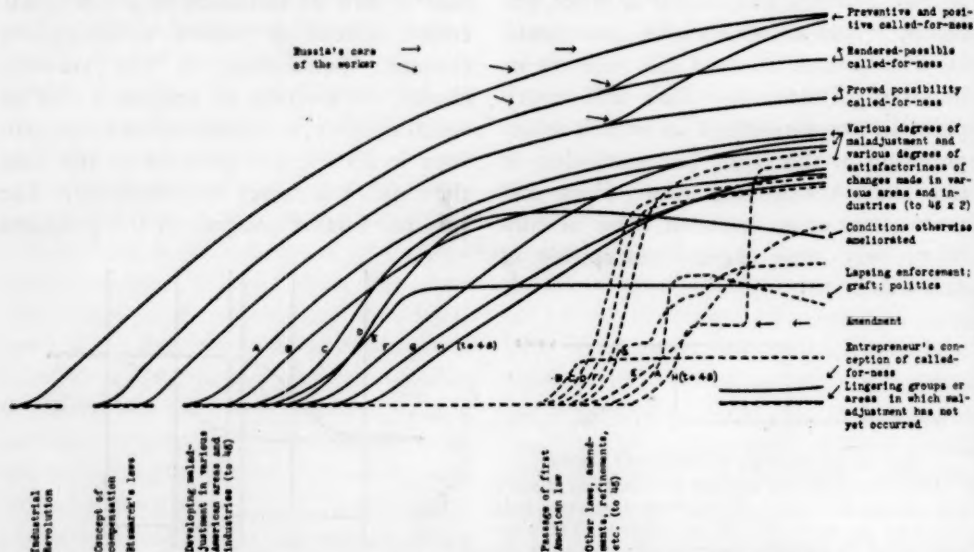


FIG. 4. In so complex a matter as workmen's compensation, a single set of lines is an abstraction as well as an artistic interpretation. If, in addition, the entire graph could be thrown into vague shadows to show the (usual) subjectivity of judgments of preferability and called-for-ness, it would then satisfactorily contrast with the geometric-appearing graph with which we started.

sumption seldom challenged by their hearers that this scientific phraseology yielded full scientific approval to their statements.

In spite of all that we have said, we hold the culture lag concept to be a very useful one and a quite necessary one. There is

best the functionally-analytic and artistic nature of it; and if we further see that any apparently objective delineation or graphing of it is schematic, hazardous, and only apparent in its simplicity, then we may continue to use the concept with safety and with profit.

CULTURE CASE STUDY AND IDEAL-TYPICAL METHOD:

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MAX WEBER

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ONE of the major shortcomings of contemporary American sociology is the general neglect of historical data and the consequent lack of interest in historical sociology. We are immensely concerned about the social organization of the Arunta or the Yurok, and are equally engrossed in the affairs of our own day and generation, but we rarely try to fill the gap between preliterate and modern by surveying the course of social development among the "historical" peoples. Catch-words there are in plenty, of course—"medieval," a blanket term covering all of Western Europe for some five centuries; "classical," veiling in equal obscurity Homeric and Hellenistic Greece, Rome of the early Tarquins and the empire of Trajan; and of course "industrial revolution," a phrase almost wholly meaningless as it is commonly used, confusing as it does the rise of commercial capitalism, the factory system, and the use of steam-driven machinery. Stevenson may have been guilty of slight exaggeration when he said that "the obscurest epoch is today," but there can be no doubt that improper use of historical sources, or failure to utilize them, dooms sociology to sterility.

I

In thus asserting the importance of historical data, not only for historical sociology but for all sociology, we are automatically confronted by a fundamental problem in the logic of the social sciences: What is the relation of history and sociology? How can the data of history be used by sociology at all? The

traditional answer has been in terms of the Windelband-Rickert distinction between the idiographic and the nomothetic disciplines: history depicts the unique, the non-recurrent, the empire of *Napoleon*; sociology sets forth the causal laws of the common, the recurrent, the *empires* of Napoleon and similar rulers. Simple, clear, persuasive. And yet

Can historical data, which is to say social data, be torn out of their full context? Dare we assume when we begin an investigation that we can tear a closely-woven tapestry apart, sew the fragments on a "timeless" background, and get anything but a crazy quilt for our labor? As the writer once put the case with regard to a specific problem:

In order for separate characteristics . . . to have meaning, they must be considered with reference to the whole problem and to each other—they must be considered as a configuration united by the logic of internal relationships. . . . The configuration constitutes the parts just as the parts constitute the configuration; neither can be considered in isolation. Consequently . . . ["timeless" classifications] must not be regarded as anything more than convenient tools for dissecting purposes; to this end they are well adapted, but if we use them so unskillfully that the configuration is destroyed, we shall have nothing left but a scattered collection of *dissecta membra* that helps us to explain nothing.¹

Neglect of such elementary methodological precautions landed earlier historical sociologists in the morass of the so-called "comparative" method—a misnomer, by the way, for it was never truly comparative, but rather illustrative. Freyer, in

¹ "Forms of Population Movement: Prolegomena to a Study of Mental Mobility," *Social Forces*, IX, 3 (March, 1931), p. 360.

spite of gross errors elsewhere in his writings, has properly pointed out one thing: the sociologist should not approach his data with the intention of forcing them, willy-nilly, into a Procrustean bed of "timeless" categories that are *a priori* generalizable.² True, he *can* do this if he wishes, but in nearly all cases he will find that the result yields purely taxonomic or classificatory satisfaction rather than explanatory power. If his concepts are to have the latter quality, they must be worked out without primary regard to their generalizability. If they prove to be generalizable *in spite of* the fact that they are intended to be fully adequate to the short-hand description and analysis of the social processes and structures permeating and, as it were, sustaining a particular historical happening, era, or what not, so much the better, but such generalizability must not be the controlling aim of the endeavor.

In the field of the sociology of religion, for example, the concepts of the ecclesia, the sect, the denomination, and the cult³ are designed primarily to render possible the sociological comprehension of a particular series of historical occurrences which we call the development of Christianity. They are not intended to explain the genesis and interaction of all religious structures, nor of social structures in general, but are expressly limited to specific Western European and American phenomena. If, upon comparison with other culture case studies, there appears a generalizable essence or aspect (as indeed there

does), this is a welcome consequence but not the guiding desideratum.

II

"Upon *comparison* with other culture case studies!" Yes, just that. What has already been called the illustrative method must not be confused with a genuinely comparative method. Let us indicate what is meant by the latter phrase.

Suppose that the problem is the relation of culture contact, mediated by population movements, communication, etc., to social change. In examining historical data with an eye to this connection, one is likely to be struck by the fact that instances appear in which there is little evidence of some of these phenomena over a relatively long period. Conversely, there are to be found certain noteworthy examples in which culture contact and social change reach what seems to be a maximum. The social organization of early fifth-century Sparta on the one hand—the social organization (or shall we say disorganization?) of parts of the metropolis of New York on the other.

Such cases give us a line of approach that seems likely to yield a valid basis for selection and comparison. The study of a culture, in the full particularity of its time and place, where the phenomena denoted by the problem are at a *minimum*, would yield a sort of control case, a marginal case. One point thus fixed, it would then be necessary only to find an instance where the phenomena denoted by the problem are at a *maximum*, and two points of reference would then be established. As the logicians say, these marginal cases would then give the determining orientation; between these two extremes any additional number of cases could be placed. If a sufficient number were examined, a sort of continuum could be built up; if the number were very large,

² Hans Freyer, *Soziologie als Wirklichkeitswissenschaft* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930), pp. 189–199; *Einführung in die Soziologie* (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1931), pp. 112–116.

³ Wiese-Becker, *Systematic Sociology* (New York: Wiley, 1932), pp. 624–42; cf. Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Sozialleben der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1923), *passim* (now available in English translation).

MODERN URBAN
(Wealth of material, but as yet insufficiently sifted)

RENAISSANCE ITALIAN
(For Florence, and one or two other cities)

ATHENIAN
(Sources and their adequacy for some problems too numerous to list)

GERMANIC
(Rather good sources, from Kalwing's viewpoint)

NOMADIC
(For pastoral nomads bordering Fertile Crescent, sources too numerous to list)

GYPSY
(Sources surprisingly full, as witness Black's *Gypsy History*)

SPARTAN
(Sources scanty but fairly good from Kalwing's standpoint)

SPARTAN (Sources scanty but fairly good from <i>Kulturgeschichte</i> standpoint)	GYPSY (Sources surprisingly full, as witness Black's <i>Gypsy Bibliography</i>)	NOMADIC (For pastoral nomads bordering Fertile Crescent sources adequate though not as complete as could be wished. See Cowan. <i>Mediterranean in World History</i>)	GERMANIC (Rather good sources, from <i>Kulturgeschichte</i> viewpoint, for several tribes. See Steinhausen, <i>Geschichte der deutschen Kultur</i> .)	ATHENIAN (Sources and their adequacy for some problems not well known to need comment)	RENAISSANCE ITALIAN (For Florence, and one or two other city-states, sources excellent)	MODERN URBAN (Wealth of material, but as yet insufficiently sifted. For present problem this is not a serious drawback)
Minimum of culture contact Appears in conjunction with vicinal isolation and its retarding, stabilizing, fixating, and exclusive effects Minimum of social change Comparable aspect: Mental immobility	Minimum of effective culture contact Appears in conjunction with social isolation resulting from high cultural and biological visibility, and high degree of social control resulting from kinship grouping and family unity Minimum of social change Comparable aspect: Mental immobility	Minimum of effective culture contact even though combat contacts are frequent Appears in conjunction with routine migration, social immobility, and routine raiding pattern; high degree of discipline and combat efficiency Very low rate of social change Comparable aspect: Mental immobility	Moderate degree of culture contact Appears in conjunction with following: Nomadic migrations of Germanic type result in conquest of tillage peoples; rise of one form of territorial state; shattering of kinship bond as result of conquest and acculturation, and consequent disorganization; breakdown of social control and consequent individuation; reorganization High rate of social change but subsequent rigid reorganization Comparable aspect: Mental mobility in transitory form	High degree of culture contact in form of vicinal, social, and mental accessibility Appears in conjunction with extreme release, preceded by the following: reorganization, inhibition, and unrest; "milling," hunger and plague, and emergence of "the crowd that acts"; cataclysmic culture contact (Crusades) and more gradual contact after conquest, with consequent disorganization accelerated by Age of Discovery, Commercial Revolution, invention of printing High rate of social change Comparable aspect: Mental mobility.	Very high degree of culture contact in form of vicinal, social, and mental accessibility Appears in conjunction with very high degree of differentiation and contactual mobility, affording opportunities for gratification of segmental cravings, acquisition of urbanity, compartmentalization of personality; high degree of vicarious movement and vicarious mobility Maximum of social change Comparable aspect: Mental mobility	Maximum of culture contact in form of vicinal, social, and mental accessibility Appears in conjunction with very high degree of differentiation and contactual mobility, affording opportunities for gratification of segmental cravings, acquisition of urbanity, compartmentalization of personality; high degree of vicarious movement and vicarious mobility Maximum of social change Comparable aspect: Mental mobility

transition from one to the other would be so slight as to be almost imperceptible, and yet in either direction would lie the limiting extremes, giving significance to even the minutest variation.⁴ The extremes, it will be recalled, are on the one hand a social order in which the phenomena denoted by the problem—culture contact and social change—are at the empirically discoverable minimum, and on the other, one in which the same phenomena are at the empirically discoverable maximum. When, as the result of intensive culture case study and comparison, followed by ideal-typical formulation, the processes correlated with transition toward one or the other extreme have been discovered, the problem has been solved.

The accompanying chart summarizes the preliminary phase of such a comparative study. In order to give point to the contentions advanced regarding the importance of historical data, only material of this type has been included, but ethnographical material could perhaps have been used with advantage in some instances; it is certainly advisable to use the *attested* data of ethnography whenever they offer a *definite* gain.

Obviously this chart must not be taken too seriously; the full implications of a series of culture case studies become apparent only when the studies themselves are read.⁵ Nevertheless, a word or two of comment may not be amiss.

First of all, it should be noted that reference to mental mobility as a *comparable* aspect of all the cases does not necessarily mean that it is a *generalizable* factor, for it may be only the known outcome of a series of unknowns having little or nothing

in common. At the same time, the fact that mental mobility has emerged as the result of focusing upon the same problem in seven historical cases ranged in sequence renders it highly probable that the formula which explains such mobility, all variables taken into account, in each of the seven cases will also explain it, *mutatis mutandis*, in all other cases.

Second, let it be emphasized that such an explanatory formula does not appear in the chart, for it can be arrived at only through the conceptual utilization of the outcomes of these case studies.⁶ When this is done, the result is the construction of ideal types firmly based on the granite of history, and yet transportable between certain points of the historical terrain. Such ideal types are never wholly "timeless" if they have any explanatory value; the necessary presence of some degree of "historical saturation" is thoroughly demonstrated by the work of Max Weber, for example, in spite of the fact that he rendered lip-service to the Windelband-Rickert theory. Moreover, as Löwith⁷ has recently shown, virtually all of Max Weber's ideal-typical formulations have the red thread of a definite theory of history running through them; not only is their significance bound up with particular historical configurations, but their full significance becomes apparent only when what Weber regarded as the total historical configuration is held in view.

III

This configuration Weber held to be basically determined by the process of secularization, especially where the Western world is concerned. Unfortunately, he nowhere gives a thorough analysis

⁴ Here the reader will probably suspect the influence of R. E. Park, and quite correctly.

⁵ One of them will probably appear in 1935 under the title *Mental Mobility in Hellenic History*.

⁶ See footnote 13.

⁷ Karl Löwith, "Max Weber und Karl Marx," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, lxvii, 1, 2 (March, and April, 1932), pp. 59-99, 175-214.

of the process, but by piecing together scattered hints and partial formulations it is possible to gain some idea of what his analysis might have been. In spite of such adumbrations, however, it seems best to make clear what secularization means by referring to the work of other writers—Shotwell, Robinson, Durkheim, and more especially Tönnies and Teggart. We can then return to Weber for light on the subject of the method by which such analyses of the process of secularization can be validly generalized.

The writers first mentioned all agree, roughly speaking, that the trend of social development has been and will be toward a greater measure of vicinal, social, and mental accessibility, differentiation, integration, and secularization, paralleled on the personal plane by an increase in individuation, compartmentalization, and rationality. Tönnies, for example, shapes his entire theory in terms of the transition from community to society, *i.e.*, from primary grouping to secondary grouping, and as an inseparable corollary, from mental immobility to mental mobility.⁸ Teggart follows a similar line of analysis, but is more interested in the *modus operandi* of the transition than is Tönnies: he finds it in the breakdown of isolation following upon population movements and communication, which in turn brings about the clash of contending idea-systems and eventual release from traditional inhibitions.⁹

With most of this analysis of the process of secularization Weber is in essential agreement, but he qualifies his agreement by the methodological precision of cul-

ture case study and the ideal-typical method. A trained historian commanding a simply stupendous array of data,¹⁰ Weber was properly skeptical of all-inclusive formulae. Nevertheless, he did not fall into the abyss of extreme historicism; he not only succeeded in finding *comparable* aspects in analyses primarily intended to render possible the sociological comprehension of particular historical configurations, but he also succeeded in making some of those comparable aspects *generalizable* through his use of the ideal-typical method. This method makes use of various personality types, types of social processes and structures, and relatively self-contained configurations of such personalities, processes, and structures which are rarely if ever found in an unmixed or "pure" form, but which for purposes of clarity and systematization are dealt with *as if* they so existed.¹¹ An ideal type is never a statistical mode or

¹⁰ As evidenced by his amazing agrarian history of the ancient world, contained in *Die römische Agrargeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung für das Staats- und Privatrecht* (Stuttgart, 1891) and in the *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1924), his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, 2nd ed. (ditto, 1922-23), and his almost superhuman *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 2d ed. (ditto, 1925).

¹¹ The clearest and most concise exposition of the method in any language, so far as the writer knows, is to be found in Theodore Abel's *Systematic Sociology in Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), pp. 146-156. Mention should also be made, however, of two other works dealing with Weber's methodology: Hans Oppenheimer, *Die Logik der soziologischen Begriffsbildung, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Max Weber* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925); and Werner Bienfait, *Max Webers Lehre vom geschichtlichen Erkennen* (Berlin: Ebering, 1930). His biography, by his wife, Marianne Weber, *Max Weber: ein Lebensbild* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1926), also contains valuable material on his method—see index. An excellent discussion of his basic theories is to be found in the article by Andreas Walther, "Max Weber als Soziologe," *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, II (Karlsruhe: Braun, 1926), pp. 1-65.

⁸ Ferdinand Tönnies, *Fortschritt und soziale Entwicklung* (Karlsruhe: Braun, 1926); *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 6th and 7th eds. (Berlin: Curtius, 1926).

⁹ F. J. Teggart, *Theory of History* (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1925); *The Processes of History* (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1918); *Prolegomena to History* (Berkeley: U. of Cal. Press, 1916).

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mean; it is a deliberate accentuation or even distortion of empirical reality for the purpose of gaining scientific control over that reality. In short, an ideal type is a device made of the full particularity of history, shaped in such a way that said particularity can be at least partially generalized.

Now the interesting thing, in the immediate context, about Max Weber's ideal-typical method is the fact that by its use he arrived at the generalization that the prime fact of social evolution is the continuous growth of the rational habit of mind, the habit of abstraction from the concrete and personal, the habit of which *Homo oeconomicus* and *Homo scientificus* are such striking instances. But although he devoted his life to the further perfection of *Homo rationalis*, Weber made no explicit value-judgment about rationality; as he so trenchantly said, "Secularization and its concomitant rationalization may be good, or it may be bad, but it is our destiny. . . ."¹²

The growth of the rational habit of thought and of its concomitant secularization of society, then, was for Weber the strand upon which all sociological concepts must be strung, regardless of the religious or ethical value of that strand. At the same time, he refrained from absolutizing this ideal-typical generalization. Although he regarded it as a tendency traceable in the history of all peoples at all times, he did not hold it to be irreversible or even exclusive—it merely appeared as the most easily comparable and generalizable trait of all the manifold culture case studies upon which he had so successfully labored.

IV

Let us now examine a little more narrowly the ideal-typical method itself.

¹² Max Weber, "Wissenschaft als Beruf," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, p. 554.

As already noted, ideal types are heuristic constructs, not definitions or averages. Weber realized that in dealing with a historical configuration such as Christianity, for example, we cannot hope to apprehend and incorporate in any set of words the whole variety and complexity of the phenomena intended to be called to mind by the term; the full historical reality as such yields nothing which the sociologist can directly utilize in his generalizations. It is necessary to give a special twist to certain characteristics of a set of historical occurrences, and to tie them up with others which may not always be found in such association or do not always take place in the same way, in order that they may be woven into a coherent whole, into an ideal type. Beyond doubt the strands we use in our weaving are all spun out of experience, and we certainly intertwine them in harmony with our ideas of what is objectively possible—nevertheless, the resulting fabric is confessedly a heuristic construct, a means of generalization, and is never empirically exemplified in "pure" form.

Weber applies this ideal-typical method in many ways, but one of the most important applications is in the study of social development. It is permissible—nay, desirable because sociologically necessary—to construct an ideal-typical series or sequence-pattern, and then to use this series as a means of estimating the rate and trend of the actual historical occurrences, which in turn form a test of the validity of the ideal type. Instance: if intensive culture case studies of handicraft economies are made, it is then possible to build an ideal type of a handicraft economy, and from it to make deductions which may be verified or refuted by reference to culture case studies; e.g., we may deduce that in a social order of which such an economy is a primary constituent,

the only source of capital accumulation is to be found in ground rent. From this we may infer that the influences leading to a transformation of the system would be found in limited supply of land, population increase, influx of precious metals, greater accessibility, and growth in secularization and rationalization, *i.e.*, in one major phase of mental mobility. The deductions thus made must then be compared with the actual facts, and if they do not fit (as they do not in "the Middle Ages," for instance), the inference that should follow is that the social order in question was not primarily constituted by a handicraft economy, and the investigation proceeds to a deeper level of analysis. If they do fit, the deductions may then be legitimately transferred to other cases having comparable features for further checking, and, if repeated transference proves possible, a valid ideal-typical generalization has emerged.

Weber himself demonstrated the validity of a great many of his ideal-typical generalizations, and other sociologists have provided further verification, so that at the present time it may be said with assurance that his method has stood every test that can legitimately be applied

to it.¹³ One need only mention his famous analysis of the relation of Calvinism and capitalism, or his masterly formulation of the types of domination—rational, traditional, and charismatic—to justify this assertion. Culture case studies, conducted along the lines indicated in the early part of this paper, and generalized in their comparable aspects by means of the ideal-typical method, provide the necessary foundation for a sound historical sociology—indeed, for sociology of every variety. Without such freedom from the frog's-eye perspective of the immediate present, American sociology will remain essentially provincial and barren.

¹³ Following Weber's lead, the writer has made a series of culture case studies (noted in the chart), and has also worked out an ideal-typical formula by means of which the comparable features of these studies can be generalized. Presentation of such a formula does not, however, fall within the scope of this paper; moreover, the method by which it was derived is probably of greater interest, and this method we have just discussed. The formula referred to is partially given in Wiese-Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-26 and 319-44, and is outlined in full in the writer's article, "Processes of Secularization," *Sociological Review*, xxiv, 2 and 3 (April-July and October, 1932), pp. 138-154 and 266-86.

(Continued from page 387)

tute, Stanford, California; Isaiah Bowman, chairman, National Research Council, Washington, D. C.; Guy Stanton Ford, dean of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Beardsley Ruml, dean, Social Science Division, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Alfred H. Stone, vice president, Staple Cotton Co-operative Association, State Tax Commission, Jackson, Mississippi. The members of the Commission have been chosen from various sections of the country, and various fields of interest, to represent as nearly as possible a cross-section of American life. They are non-partisan and without commitments on these questions, and enter upon their duties in a frank spirit of inquiry and truth-seeking.

The procedure of the Commission: (1) Comprehensive written reports will be sought from large corporations that maintain research staffs, on one or more of the important problems to be dealt with. These reports will be given from the point of view of the special interests of these corporations, and will be evaluated by the Commission's research staff. (2) The staff will make out a complete outline of all the problems involved, and will assign to the most competent experts and specialists in this country, both in academic and practical life, the specific task of furnishing the Commission with written memoranda on special phases of the problem. (3) The staff will interview many smaller business men who have valuable practical experience dealing with specific commodities, and who have definite ideas about various proposals. These interviews will furnish valuable sidelights on the problems in-

(Concluded on page 426)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

THE MARRIAGE PANACEA

ERNEST R. GROVES

University of North Carolina

THE problem of marriage has reached the panacea stage. At last we have the perfect cure-all for every kind of matrimonial incompatibility—sex technique. The confidence with which this simple remedy is pressed, regardless of the nature and history of the marriage difficulty, betrays the eagerness with which people shy from the complexity of the problem of modern marriage. It reveals how little the working of cause and effect is understood in this part of human experience. Like the old-time medico who made up for his small understanding of a disease by the cocksureness with which he prescribed a medicine certain to cure it, those who have at last awakened to the seriousness of the modern problem of marriage failures grasp with avidity the idea that efficient sex technique solves any marriage maladjustment.

The American public has been loath to admit that there is a marriage problem. Of course no one could deny that many who married were unhappy, even unable to live together. The divorce rate made this as clear as the clinical thermometer made fever. There was, however, one stock answer. It was not marriage but the men and women who married that failed. True, indeed, but it is equally true that the success or failure of marriage

as an institution is measurable only through the matrimonial experiences of husbands and wives.

This fact is beginning to penetrate the complacency of those fortunately married. The constant increase in divorce, apparent wherever legislation and public opinion permit a free expression of marital discontent, is too stubborn a fact to be lightly dismissed as merely evidence of the selfishness of individual men and women. Marriage cannot survive as an achievement of a social aristocracy. It grew out of human need. If it is to continue as a conventional social experience acceptable to the multitude, a recognized norm in human behavior, it must satisfactorily meet these same needs under modern conditions. This truth has been slowly worming itself into the social snugness long content with the notion recently given this characteristic expression by one of our law-makers, "If we can't make people realize marriage is sacred we can at least show them that it is permanent." This idea that marriage can be bolstered up by repressive divorce legislation has passed in America and will rarely be heard henceforth even in political oratory and pulpit sermonizing. We have a problem and at last we are ready to admit it.

The first proof of our change of mind

appears in the various easy and sure-cure solutions advocated. One of these, which is now gathering the momentum of the fad, is that marriage success comes merely from achieving sex technique. All marriage failures, so it is said, result from sexual maladjustment. Happiness in matrimony is attainable only by those who acquire the proper skill. This is not difficult if only one buys the indispensable book and follows instructions!

Several remedies for the malady that afflicts modern marriage have been proposed. It is not strange that the one which has drawn most popularity is this idea of adequate sex technique. It has a plausibility it will always have during any period when there is widespread skepticism regarding matrimonial happiness. Sex has so large a place in any marriage program that it is bound to attract attention when there is much marital unrest. There is, however, a special influence, a unique product of recent civilization, that is mostly responsible for the emphasis upon sex technique.

The twentieth century is as likely to be remembered for having discovered sex as for any of its marvelous inventions and scientific discoveries or its revolutionary changes in political policy. The mere existence of the human race demonstrates that sex has had a large place in human affairs from the beginning. It is only of late, however, that there has been any serious effort to understand it, and what spasmodic interest there was took a morbid form except when frankly pornographic.

A different attitude toward sex was inevitable as the consequence of the advance of science. Sex has so large a place in both the physical and psychic life of normal people that the traditional taboo was certain to be swept aside. It went out as does the ice sometimes in the

spring from a Maine lake. One day it seemed solid; the next it was gone. Sigmund Freud is considered responsible for this break-up by both opponent and disciple with a unanimity exceeding even that which credits Luther with the Protestant Reformation. Everything was ripe for militant leadership and Freud furnished it. He brought forth a new attitude toward the most concealed of all man's major impulses, and although his sex doctrine will always be justly estimated by the specialist a minor element in his system, it is likely to seem to the lay-mind his one significant contribution. And the mass judgment is likely to be the verdict of history. It was his push that started the breach in the most resistant of barriers to the study of human nature and the results are likely to be so many and so much disputed that his part in the change will overshadow his more subtle and more technical contributions in the field of psychiatry.

About Freud crystallized a new investigation, an inspection of human nature on what was known as the lowest levels. The antagonism he received became itself an added force to those undermining the most ancient of all our social taboos. Then came from an unexpected quarter a final onslaught that washed out the debris still clinging. As Freud had pictured sex intertwined about the mental possessions of all of us, the endocrinologist opened up an unsuspected source of physiological influences, basic to health, in which sex appeared as a complex and determining element.

In such a setting the contemporaneous disturbance in matrimonial relationship could hardly escape exaggeration of its sexual features. As a matter of fact sex was not so much over-stressed as it was misinterpreted. This it is that reveals the disillusionment bound to follow the

prevailing confidence that marriage success is certain if only there may be adequate knowledge of the proper technique.

Sex as known to the scientist has become a complexity gathering about it the most intricate, elusive, and tyrannous of causal impulses, accumulated from early childhood onward. It is uniquely individual and highly emotional. Social evolution has built so heavily upon it, has rooted in this impulse so much of the refinements of human desire, that what was merely animal has become so exclusively human, so far away from any experience of lower organisms as it became interwoven with much of the promise, the cravings, and the satisfactions of modern men and women, that it most of all measures our distance from the brute. This does not mean that physical passion has been drained away. On the contrary it has become intensified by its incorporation into the larger complex which we still call sex. The old term is misleading unless understood in its larger meaning. One cannot simplify it by stripping it of much of its emotional qualities without making a counterfeit of the original.

Physical adjustment is indeed essential to a satisfying marriage but this cannot be had by reducing sex to a passion-technique. Any attempt to handle marital relationship as merely skill of procedure disregards the emotional accretions that condition the success of the experience. In spite of structural capacity, potential hunger and readiness to employ efficient technique, a particular sex relationship, even as a suggestion, may bring forth profound disgust. Anyone can attest this by merely exploring his own imagination. The perfect physical preparedness does not insure a satisfactory relationship. This is all the more true in marriage, for where affection exists, the emotional side of sex is the more pro-

nounced. Sex adjustment is indeed essential but it must be in its fulness, not a mere routine that is guaranteed to generate passion.

To insist that sex technique by itself is a precarious support for happy marriage is not to deny the advantage of giving to those who marry knowledge of the art of physical love-making. Anyone who enters marriage needs all the help he or she can get, and any preparation that ignores the physical aspects of the association is cowardly and futile. It shies away from the problem concerning which the man and especially the woman may most desire help and may most easily be helped.

Young people were never so sophisticated, but that does not prove them well-informed. They know as has never any previous generation the value of frank, practical preparation for marriage, and to ignore sex in any instruction or to treat it vaguely wins their contempt. Rightly so, for any course on marriage that excludes sex re-establishes the idea of taboo which has caused so much mischief and from which we are trying to escape.

It is strange that college administrators are so timid in facing this fact at a time when American church leadership, supposedly much more conservative, is attempting to work out marriage-preparation programs for those entering matrimony that will deal justly and honestly with both the physical and the spiritual aspects of marriage. It is a clear case of rationalization to assert, as one college for men has done in answer to the seniors' petition for a course in marriage, that the necessary information can be gained incidentally from courses in biology, psychology, and sociology.

I once had the problem of a university graduate, an honor student in biology, who was amazed to find herself four months pregnant when she had not sup-

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posed that she was running any risk of conception in her love-making. Not a word had she heard in her biology courses that gave her a definite understanding of human reproduction or even of the sex anatomy of men and women.

Some years ago a college woman, wife of a college instructor, suffering from mental disease was brought back to normal health at one of our best known asylums, anti-Freudian in sentiment, but only after she and her husband had been given an understanding of sex-adjustment. The psychiatrist in charge remarked that he would never have believed that two educated people could be so ignorant. Even in this extreme case the explanation of the persistence of the trouble was an emotional handicap, for the wife has always insisted that her mother's attitude toward sex built from childhood up a taboo that prevented success in marriage. I have had college instructors in both psychology and sociology come to me because they were in marital difficulty on account of their faulty sex technique. As a student of both sciences I cannot see how they could have been expected to learn anything of value in working out their own marriage adjustment from the conventional instruction they were given in their specialties. Indeed I was recently consulted by an instructor in a medical school, about to be married, who asserted in answer to a question that his medical training in a first-grade school had completely ignored human sex adjustment and given him nothing as a preparation for his own marriage.

A society that has genuine concern for the institution of marriage will insist upon making available to those who marry clear, useful, and adequate knowledge of sex technique. It will not, however, be content with any notion that this is all that is required for suc-

cessful mating. We are moving rapidly away from the *laissez faire* attitude toward both parenthood and marriage. The change is coming not because of reasoning but from the competitive pressure of social conditions. Young people are not going to marry, and when they do they are not going to have children, in the proportion of the past. There is need of making both experiences as inviting as possible by adequate preparation. The time is probably not far distant when it will be unlawful either to marry or have children without first obtaining instruction in readiness to meet these responsibilities. Science is a hard task-master and already it is uncovering the hazards of unintelligent marriage and parenthood. The demand for more adequate training is just around the corner. Sex technique will be included, but much beside.

Not only is the idea of sex technique as the one and sufficient solution of the marriage problem lopsided, it is misleading in the slant it gives sex adjustment itself. There is no standard form of sex relationship which can be taught as the efficient technique, and in the nature of things there cannot be. In nothing is there greater individual variation. Sex fellowship is an art, but it is an art that must express the peculiarities, preferences, and even idiosyncrasies, not only of one person, but of two. It falsifies itself once it becomes self-centered. The notion of a standardized technique conceals the coöperative character of human mating. It encourages the tendency, already common in America, to harden sex fellowship into habit. This results in its easily becoming a routine, stripped of spontaneity and innovation. In some this means premature decline of sex interest, while in others of more vigorous impulses it stimulates polygamous cravings. Among the latter we find those men and

women who divorce again and again. Their marriage career is a successive polygamy, as hope triumphs over experience, but the promise of each new adventure fades in turn.

Promoters of the doctrine of marriage-salvation through sex technique make much of the appearance of sex trouble in nearly all marital maladjustments. This discloses not the exclusive dominance of sex over married life but its sensitiveness to any serious disturbance in the fellowship of husband and wife. Narrow and meager sex relationship is not so demanding. It can thrive on a purely physical basis and is not frustrated by any lack of sympathy or understanding in the psychic and social aspects of the association. The extension of the meaning of sex fellowship through an evolution that has added emotional values to the reproductive instinct necessarily leads to sex antagonism whenever incompatibility in any form arises in domestic intimacy. This is not usually on account of any deliberate effort of one spouse to punish or get even with the other—although this conscious method of protest sometimes does appear—but rather because a mar in the comradeship at any point is bound to show itself in an expression of attitude supremely emotional.

The marriage career of Mrs. B. reveals this strikingly. She is a young woman already distinguished in her profession and keen-minded in her penetration of circumstances. Her marriage, a product of the World War, occurred before she was out of college. In spite of many common interests the husband and wife were not personalities that could jibe although both made heroic efforts to harmonize their differences and establish happiness on the basis of mutual tolerance. Sex was not at first a disturbing factor but rather a common interest that tended to continue

the attraction that had led to their courtship. As the emotional rift between them began to widen and both became conscious of this, more was made of the sex relationship by each of them. The woman at this stage in a moment of confidence admitted that although they were learning to live more independent lives they were never so well mated sexually. It was evident that she, at least, regarded this compatibility a safe anchorage. A year later she was insisting that sex was the most illusive of human experiences, promising much and yielding little. It was evident that the breach between the ill-mated personalities had widened into a complete emotional separation. This irritation had intruded into their one perfect form of fellowship and had spoiled it. Although held together by motives of professional interest for another year, everything prophesied the divorce that finally gave public confession of their marriage failure. Except for the brief period when sex was clung to as their only hope, any prodding of their differences by a family specialist would have brought forth an element of sex antagonism. Finally this grew to such a proportion that the wife withdrew in disgust from any portrayal of sex passion. Soon in turn the husband lost even the modicum of physical desire that now drew him toward his mate. There was from the first no problem of structure, no lack of physical vigor, no underlying taboo, no failure of technique. They were merely people, who, in spite of mutual sex appeal, were not adapted for close companionship, and their clashing along other lines undermined their one possession. Sex harmony was no small achievement but it could not permanently drown out the other discords.

It shows an amazing misunderstanding of the findings of the psychiatrists in their

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explorations of human conduct when appeal is made to Freud and psychoanalysis for support of the idea that faulty sex technique explains marriage failure. The psychiatrists, Freudian and anti-Freudian, are united in their insistence upon the complexity of the sex experience of men and women. If sex problems were merely physiological in character the enormous literature of psychiatry that illustrates their psychic and social ramifications would never have arisen. Psychoanalysis has come to have a therapeutic function, almost universally recognized, because it is the means of orienting the patient who is made aware of the intricacy of his personal sex history and its pervasion of his entire career. Its complexity is not physical but psychic. Nothing is usually more open and demonstrative than sheer passion. It is, however, such a shallow experience that it becomes a counterfeit of genuine sex fellowship. This explains the psychiatric definition of prostitution as a form of onanism. Problems of sex origin would be too easily solved ever to need psychiatric assistance if the individual man or woman in trouble could be dealt with as if, in sexual needs, a mere physiological organism. The emotional qualities of sex have been annexed during the longer reaches of human evolution and are so much a part of human sex now that the specialist who ignores them only makes a bad problem worse. Freud in his essay, "Concerning Wild Psychoanalysis," shows that this is nothing less than psychiatric mal-practice.

In this Freud demolishes the assumptions upon which the doctrine of marriage success through sex technique rests. He tells us that the mental scientist has long known that "lack of psychic gratification with all its consequences" may occur in spite of normal sexual intercourse, and

also that only a small proportion of the unsatisfied sexual cravings, expressed through nervous symptoms of a substitutional character, can be removed by physical sex experience.

The domestic career of Mr. and Mrs. Y. shows that what Freud says may also be true in cases of husband-wife incompatibility. Their marriage ought not to have occurred, for it was hopeless from the start. It came about through the scheming of a dying parent who, wishing to provide security for his only child, took advantage of her emotional state to make her promise to marry the man who was his choice, not hers. In spite of such an ominous beginning, both husband and wife made an honest effort to win happiness. They were intelligent, had been long friendly and had much in common. Each, however, distrusted the love of the other, feeling the controlling motive to be obligation. Both were normally sexed; probably rather more sexed than the average. Their training had given them an understanding of the value of getting counsel when in domestic tension, and becoming conscious that they were drifting apart, they went to Dr. W. F. Robie for help. No man in America at that time was better fitted to give domestic advice, especially along lines of sex. As a consequence of this instruction the husband's skill in awakening the physical passion of his wife was such that he could command her body against her will. This power to stimulate passion contrary to her desire only increased her hostility until, filled with hatred, she came to loathe her husband. Such was the situation when they came to me. If only they could have become as companionable as they were physically mated, reconciliation would have been possible, but the man's technique had made sex so obnoxious to the wife that it proved a hopeless

obstacle. Divorce was recognized by both of them as the only way out, even though it meant injury to their professional careers, and all I could do was to lessen emotional bitterness.

The over-emphasis of sex technique misleads those who in the spirit of the modern world attempt adequately to prepare for marriage. Hectic with their sense of responsibility, they seek through books, lectures, and interviews what they understand to be the one prerequisite to happy marriage. Their quest, through its false concentration, adds hazard to their union. It conceals the change that is making marriage success more difficult.

Marriage is and always has been a fusion of bodies. It is not and never has been only this. It is and ever has been a special form of sex relationship, socially approved, but rarely has this been the entire purpose of a marriage. Economic motive has usually been a major if not the dominating influence in the establishing and maintaining of marriage as a social status. This appears plainly in the experiences of peoples of simple culture, popularly known as the uncivilized. Their sex comradeship is not exclusively confined to marriage. The meaning of parenthood often is unknown. Yet marriage exists and is firmly supported by taboos and tribal regulations. Its economic advantage is the explanation. Marriage is made the gateway to the indispensable, coöperative producing-unit, the family.

This economic side of marriage has loomed large from the simplest stages of society onward until now. It has been an effective ally of the sex and reproductive motives of marriage.

It is this century-old support of marriage that has slipped. Affection, once a minor element in the urge to marry, has been growing more important with the social maturing of human nature and is now the compelling incentive to marriage.

It incorporates sex and gives it richer expression. It refines and safeguards parenthood. With the increase of the motive of affection human mating has taken on more and more emotional coloring. This has brought forth romance, the most characteristic expression of modern mating. Courtship has developed into an explorative, experimental effort to discover potential affection.

Marriage is no longer economically expedient; it is not the mere licensing of sex relationship. It is chiefly an adventure in affection, the supreme craving of modern men and women. When the promise of a love-fellowship fades marriage loses its substance. Affection has no substitute. If marriage depended upon the drive of physical sex alone it would indeed be precariously situated, for the coming of effective contraceptives has brought a competition which it would have no resources to meet. Sex would be enticed outside marriage, and marriage, without purpose, would pass.

It is a technique of affection that is wanted to insure happy marriage. This cannot exist, for love is not a routine but a growth in relationship. It issues from character itself and expresses the profoundest traits of the individual. The love-craving of modern men and women is making marriage success harder to achieve, but this problem cannot be removed by side-stepping it for an easier task. Marriage success is difficult in the modern world because marriage means so much. It is this fact that we need to realize. It would be easier to be satisfied if we could regress to earlier and simpler stages, but this would mean forcing marriage back to a more meager experience, and that is just what civilization will not permit. Sex technique has its place in the marriage-preparation program, but it is not and cannot become the condition of matrimonial success for modern men and women.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

A PARTIAL EXPLANATION OF THE INDIVIDUALISM OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

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THE rather common assumption that the Negroes are on the whole less coöperative than whites was not consciously accepted by the writer until he had shared in the common life of a Southern Negro community as a participant observer for a year and a quarter. During the half year that ensued he searched for the causal factors by conferring with his Negro college students, professional colleagues, and other members of the community and by analyzing his own experiences in, and observation of, the community life. As a result, the following hypotheses are advanced for the consideration of those who seek to understand. Obviously, the recognition of negative elements in group and inter-group life is an essential prerequisite of their consciously planned elimination.

Individualism may be defined as the manifestation of a preference for independent action and the tendency to adopt a near point of view—that is, to accord undue importance to what appears to be one's immediate interest or that of some small group with which one identifies one's self—in consequence of which, association with outsiders is restricted or withheld altogether. The individualism of the American Negro is perhaps

partially due to an almost necessary deception of white folks in the effort to offset to some extent the economic and psychic exploitation suffered at their hands. If a man is dishonest in his own heart, he will probably be reluctant to trust his fellowman sufficiently to make coöperative endeavor possible. It has been suggested that a rather intense "in" and "out-group" morality would make the above factor a negligible one insofar as intra-group relationships are concerned, but that it acts as a deterrent in inter-group coöperation. The individualism of members of the white group with whom the Negro comes in contact is also a causal factor. This individualism appears greater than it really is, for the Negro presumably draws his conclusions from observation of Negro-white relationships wherein the white man is inclined to act more individualistically than in white-white endeavors.

The slave owner of the days before the Civil War had an informer upon whom he conferred special privileges. The master was often the slave's ideal. In more recent times, the successful individualistic Negro has been emulated by the masses. A dog in the manger attitude has often developed when such imitation proved impossible

or ineffective, each man doing all in his power to prevent another from attaining the position that he himself coveted in vain. Jealousy plays an important part in checking coöperative enterprise. Those who lack material possessions, special education, or leadership, tend to be especially jealous of such of their fellows as have risen recently from the ranks of "them that have not" to those of "them that have;" consequently they often withhold coöperation.

Pigmentary stratification, another divisive factor in the past, still remains such to a certain extent. The concept of the "pull of races" among those conscious of their mixed origin is an ideational but not a biological reality. It probably tends to make a hybrid feel that he belongs to a separate group, and therefore will cause him to act less coöperatively, especially in his dealings with those who represent his underprivileged strain.

"In-group" morality is partially stimulated and perpetuated by the occasional inability of Negroes to obtain justice at the hands of white officers of the law, school officials, and others in positions of power. Frequently the whites appear to have one code of morals for their own group and another for Negroes. One result of this disparity is their failure, in some instances, to give whole-hearted coöperation to Negroes seeking the removal of members of their own group from positions of power by reason of inefficiency or even dishonesty.

Many Southern white men know one Negro whom they are willing to trust implicitly. Once so entrenched in the favor of an influential white man, a Negro may do much as he pleases within the colored group, for it often requires a carload of fool-proof evidence to shake the naïve and child-like confidence the white man reposes in his trusted Negro. One

of the reasons for the failure of the white man to see facts as they really are is that he senses the need of having a contact man within the other group who will serve his interests aptly and eagerly whenever called upon to do so. A number of white leaders still regard the Negro of honesty and ability as a rarity; consequently they often see fit to work through a Negro who may lack the respect of his own group.

When Negroes seek employment within either group, personal relationship or "pull" largely determines which of the applicants for a position will be chosen. Both Negroes and whites of influence, upon learning of vacancies that are to be filled by Negroes,—such positions, for example, as that of matron of an orphanage or school teacher—will bethink themselves of some faithful servant or relative, whom they will proceed to recommend regardless of his or her qualifications for the task in hand. Many associative activities of an interracial nature are restricted or prevented as a result of Negro sensitiveness, manifested in the Negro's efforts to avoid affording the white man an opportunity to inflict even an unintentional insult.

The white man's indifference to the progress of the Negro group as a whole, combined with his ignorance of the personalities, factions, problems, and abilities of its members, account for the infrequency with which a white man of influence acts in such a way as to stimulate coöperative endeavor within the Negro group. When whites do instigate activities for the benefit of the colored group, Negro leaders are loath to coöperate with them, reasoning, with much feeling and some justification, that opportunities for self-expression of the kind that elicits social recognition are numerous for whites but rare for Negroes; hence it is folly to

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cater to aggressive whites, even for the sake of aiding a worthy cause.

A Negro is not likely to inconvenience himself in order to promote the welfare of a white friend or colleague to as great an extent as a white man will for a Negro. When placed in a position of vantage, the Negro has a tendency to make such reflections as the following: "Can he not ask some of his white friends for assistance?" "Do white people not have about everything they want, anyway?"

The failure of the white man to respect the Negro merchant or professional man reimpresses the colored masses with a sense of Negro inadequacy. Traditional dependence on the white group, combined with the decrease of opportunities to satisfy the creative impulse, have contributed to the non-aggressive fatalistic attitude and defeatist psychology which are all too common. Timidity, almost inborn because of class status, has tended to curb or forestall the aggressiveness which is necessary for coöperative enterprise. Negroes have repeatedly demonstrated that their potential courage is fundamentally as great as that of other people, yet those who accuse the Negro of cowardice are perhaps justified, for in view of the Negro's proximity to economic dependence and the ever-present possibility and probability of intimidation or discrimination, it would be surprising for him not to suffer somewhat from a deficiency of moral and physical courage. Needless to say, many coöperative endeavors require courageous leadership. The harshness of life and the nearness to the economic border-line, coupled with the absence of real confidence in Negro ability, cause the Negro to be extremely cautious and hesitant in risking his savings to take part in a coöperative venture or giving himself unstintingly for the cause of community welfare.

Group games yielding as a by-product a give-and-take attitude are reaching the Negro masses rather slowly; therefore the challenge of sportsmanship is all too new. The relative dearth of Y. M. C. A., Boy Scout, Y. W. C. A., Girl Reserve, playground, gymnasium and club activities among the Negro youth makes their early coöperative conditioning less probable than in the case of children who are able to avail themselves of such facilities.

Mobility has made it possible for unscrupulous Negroes as well as whites to practice repeated deceptions upon gullible individuals. This has produced a general skepticism, in consequence of which Negroes all too rarely confide in each other, and have often been thought to fear both Negro and white. When large Negro enterprises fail, the economic wounds thus inflicted leave scars. Owing to the intensity of his struggle for economic security, such failures impress the Negro more than the white man and make him wary of coöperative enterprises conducted by members of his group. The failure to receive *politeness* and its sister, *service*, is the reason sometimes given by colored people for not doing business with their own group. If there be a real shortage of so essential a commodity as politeness, this condition may be attributed in part to the reaction of the present generation against traditional servility.

The majority of Negroes work for white employers and, therefore, find it politic to repress any irritation they may feel. In their association with members of their own group, however, they sometimes relieve pent-up tensions by giving vent to outbursts of wrath when provoked. This of course makes coöperation more difficult. The hopelessly poor balance of the Negro's accustomed diet, combined with the fact that the kind of work he commonly does is of the energy-

draining type, help one to understand why he often lacks the vitality to "carry on" in an actual or potential coöperative endeavor.

The comparative absence of an effective tradition of group coöperation is another element that helps explain the individualism of the American Negro. It must be remembered that the United States is traditionally a land of individualists and that it is only as the complex, coöperative industrial and urban pattern spreads to the rural areas that rampant individualism appears obviously out of place. The people of the South, especially in the rural areas, are the last to receive the impact of these new forces. Negro wives and children often earn their own spending-money, which they use to defray their own personal expenses and to buy for the home various articles that they especially covet. May this not possibly accentuate the tendency to individualism?

Although the "that's right" psychology so common in the Southland—a product of master-servant relationships—does bring about agreement of a kind, such agreement is often of a meaningless or hypocritical nature, and therefore discourages the would-be leader or potential associates. One who has become pessimistic as a result of being frustrated repeatedly by failure to experience the satisfaction that comes from successful coöperative endeavor, is tempted to respond to a suggestion for some particular coöperation with a "what's the use?" attitude.

Narrow group loyalty, be it to lodge, church, or school, often causes Negroes to appear self-centered, whereas in fact they are only "agin" other groups. The same phenomenon is found among the Chinese, where extreme family self-centeredness sometimes makes the members of the family clan seem very selfish. Oft-repeated suppression of a desire tends to

make the behavior of an individual or group as uncertain as that of a sleeping volcano. Repressed desires, therefore, are elements that must be considered when estimating the probability of a given coöperative or non-coöperative act under the influence of certain conditions and precipitants. Such factors as racial and economic status, which often result in compensatory acts, as well as an over-emotionalized religious life, tend to produce emotional instability.

The structural organization of such associations as the Baptist Church which allows a discontented individual to leave and start a church of his own has also contributed its share to the individualism of the Negro. The church is one of the few places where the Negro can express himself; hence, if thwarted there, he feels a greater temptation to start a new one than would be experienced by a white man. Although the Negro church has been and still is a center of coöperative activity, it should be borne in mind that there is an indisputable over-supply of churches and an under-supply of properly trained preachers. Perhaps the zeal of religious leaders, resulting in church self-centeredness objectively manifested by numerous prayer meetings and other church activities which leave little time or desire for civic enterprise and inter-church coöperative endeavor, will eventually be more wisely directed toward the adoption of a balanced and progressive programme emphasizing social welfare, but that time has not yet arrived. The religious emphasis on the saving of one's individual soul, the condemnation of worldliness, and the satisfying thought that, however inadequate the life led here on earth, a person may eventually bask in eternal sunshine on the pearly streets, and in the meantime belong to the "spiritual aristocracy"—all these have

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contributed to the individualism of the American Negro and his indifference to worldly coöperation. The theology of days gone by still holds sway in the Southland, and the theological literalism and absolutism have a tendency to manifest themselves in other than religious relationships.

Psychic compensation is an important factor in the determination of behavior. When an expected response fails to materialize, the attitude of the individual often changes, and he may withdraw from an association that he previously sought. Subsequently he will perhaps hold himself aloof from some coöperative endeavor proposed by one who has failed to coöperate with him.

The kind of work a person does influences his thinking. Many Negroes sell coal by the sack, work on a farm, cook, clean house, wash by hand, or engage in some other occupation that requires very little coöperation. A relatively high rate of ill health adds its deterring influence upon constructive participation in group activities. Illiteracy and meager educational exposure, in a complex civilization such as ours, unavoidably beget "I'm alone" behavior.

All too frequently, preparedness and initiative have been looked upon as functions chiefly appertaining to the white man. Negative conditions associated with poverty, ill health, and social maladjustment, often furnish the stimulus for some corrective coöperative endeavor; but one sometimes finds that the Negroes, like the Chinese, have become so inured to pain as to develop a fatalistic callousness which prevents a stimulus of this character from eliciting any response. The absence of recognized community leadership through positions wielding social, educational, political, and economic power, automatically makes impossible the functioning of this subtle coercive ele-

ment that seems so essential for the success of coöperative endeavors. Inadequate means of transportation and communication, not only in the past, but up to the present day, have helped make coöperation difficult, while irregular hours of work and meals have complicated the problems of group activity by making it well-nigh impossible to observe a fixed time for meetings. Untrained leadership, causing meetings to be wanting alike in interest and in results, often discourages further participation.

Climate, in conjunction with limited financial resources, has played its part in the development of individualism in the American Negro. At one time or another, most Negroes have been without an umbrella, good shoes, overcoat, or other protection against inclement weather. When such was actually the case, they had an excuse, which eventually developed into what almost amounted to common consent, exculpating their failure to attend a scheduled meeting. As prosperity removes the excuse, it often degenerates into an "alibi." Efficient coöperative endeavor necessitates regular attendance at group meetings.

It is well for us to recognize that the above elements, sometimes separately, but more often through a process of interaction, enter into the group situation, yet do not necessarily apply to individuals as such. In fact, it is reasonable to assume that a number of Negroes have so out-distanced their group that for all practical purposes few if any of these elements apply to them. Then, too, there is a possibility that some of these elements are not present in all localities, and that the analysis of other community situations would reveal additional factors which contribute to the individualism of the American Negro. These elements have been discussed in connection with their

bearing upon individualism only; however, many of them, as well as individualism itself, could be used with profit in the analysis of other problems confronting the Negro group.

A word of caution may be in order, for the reader is perhaps in danger of reaching

the erroneous conclusion that the writer does not appreciate the many fine elements to be found in the Negro group. It should be borne in mind that comparisons are relative and that a number of these factors would also apply to some members of the white group.

SOME SMALL-TOWN FOLK BELIEFS OF THE CAROLINA PIEDMONT

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WALTER LIPPMAN, among others, has made us familiar with the stereotypes, those diffused mental patterns which are, perhaps, the more powerful in that they remain half vague and half emotional. Classified as prejudices or the engenderings of propaganda, these attitudes are often dismissed without further study. It is the contention of an increasing number of sociologists that the origin and development of such stereotypes are to be sought in intensive study of contemporary folk society and folk processes. If so, the approach adopted may be that of folklore—with a difference.

The collection and study of folk legends, folk beliefs, and folk wisdom has long been an avocation of litterateurs and philologists. Classified as classical antiquities or primitive naïvete, the materials thus brought to light have been regarded as offering literary backgrounds—and nothing more. The work of Sir James G. Frazer in comparative folklore of the old Testament and the laudable attempt of Alexander Haggerty Krappe to delimit a science of folklore by that title exemplify a departure from the conventional view of the field. The definition, now frequently quoted, of folklore as the intellec-

tual culture of a peasantry or folk society embodies the new orientation.

This paper represents a first step in folk sociology—the collection and classification of folk opinions. These popular beliefs were encountered in the course of growing to young manhood in a representative Carolina Piedmont town of some thousand souls. It required, no doubt, the experience of graduate study for the writer to attain objectivity to all of the stereotypes. In some cases the tenets represented attitudes of a large percentage of the people; in other instances they were representative of a decided minority. Some are now losing their significance among the new generation; others remain powerful factors in the intellectual life of the village. These beliefs are here set forth after the manner of Tacitus, *sine ira et studio*. Not only in the folk culture of this small town which claims the birth place of President Andrew Jackson, but in all small towns of the Carolina Piedmont there were those who believed:

ECONOMICS

That no man ever earned more than twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars honestly.

That thriftiness is the same thing as stinginess.

That all rich (or merely economically independent) persons are scoundrels and thieves.

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That no rich man's son ever has or ever will "amount to anything."

MATTERS OF RELIGION

That if a man ever does anything dishonorable or unconventional, he is necessarily ever thereafter a "bad" man—unless (of course) he should show evidence of his complete conversion by conspicuous action at a religious "revival."

That there are no "good" men who do not attend church regularly.

That all persons who are not active (as shown by regular church attendance at a Protestant church) Christians are necessarily "heathens."

That regular attendance at church is a sure sign of righteousness.

That any person who does not attend church regularly is necessarily an "atheist."

That all children over three years of age should remain (after attending Sunday School) for church services on Sunday morning.

That every very "good" boy should become a preacher or a missionary.

That no Catholics go to Heaven.

That there is really only one way to get to Heaven; hence all other churches (except my own) are all wrong.

That Presbyterians and Methodists go to Heaven for sure; that perhaps a few Baptists do; or *vice versa*.

That disease and suffering are always providentially planned as punishment for sins and transgressions.

That all non-Christians are "atheists."

That "keeping in style in matters of dress" is sinful.

That it is permissible for an "Elder" to go to sleep in church; but that if a small child goes to sleep during the same church service, the child is "bad"—at least his sleeping seriously reflects on his "home training."

That the test of a preacher of the gospel is the degree of his sincerity, regardless of his ignorance or the impractical nature of his sermons.

That no other book should ever be allowed to lie on top of the Bible.

CARDS

That regular playing cards are vile and inherently wicked, the instruments of the devil.

That the possession, or mere touching, of playing cards corrupts the soul of man.

That any game played with such cards is sinful and necessarily leads to damnation.

That (on the other hand) rook cards—although not altogether proper—are not sinful.

That games played with rook cards are allowable; that even the preacher's wife may play rook with propriety and win the prize for high score.

DANCING

That all forms of dancing are sinful.

That any young girl should be (but never was) turned out of the church for dancing—even if dancing in a private home.

SMOKING AND DRINKING

That any form of drinking (even a small glass of wine) is inherently sinful.

That a man who has been drunk once can never "amount to anything."

That "taking a drink" and "getting drunk" are both "terribly and equally sinful."

That smoking is a sin.

That a man who does not drink or smoke is necessarily righteous.

SCHOOLS

That no northern leader in the War Between the States should ever be studied in school except in a derogatory light.

That school teachers should glorify southern leaders in teaching American history.

That perfect attendance at school necessarily merits "all A's" for little Johnnie.

That the best teacher in the school is the one who gives the highest grades.

That it is a "disgrace" for a child to receive punishment at school.

That any person who "has been to college" is well educated and truly cultured.

That education is a harmful and degenerating force in the lives of Negroes; that it "spoils them" and makes them unwilling to do honest work.

READING

That the boy who likes to read is lazy.

That reading (other than the required reading in school) is not good for a healthy boy.

That a positive and relevant quotation from a book is ample proof of any point that might arise in debate.

That everything found in books is true, except in the case of fairy tales and novels which are inherently sinful because they are untrue.

That it is "wicked" to read any novel.

EXTERNAL NATURE

That it is "sissy" for a boy or a man to love flowers.

That trees should be cut down unless they are of some immediate use.

That all birds should be killed if possible.

That studying and trying to preserve bird-life is "sissy" and unmanly.

That it is a sin to walk through the woods on Sunday—even if for the purpose of studying external nature.

HEALTH, ETC.

That "medicine" is the most important factor in the treatment or cure of any disease; that there really is a medicine that will prevent or "cure" every disease, if one can just secure the medicine and use it.

That dieting, calories, and vitamins are fads and are all "bunk."

That no physician's operation ever does any good.

That all contagious diseases can be prevented by wearing a little asafetida in a small cloth bag, suspended around the neck.

That mere temporary insanity is a "disgrace" to the whole family and generation.

That all forms of insanity and feeble-mindedness have essentially the same significance.

That blood-poisoning from stepping on a rusty nail can be prevented if the nail is found and burned; that if the nail is not found, it is necessary to burn a handful of sugar wrapped in an old rag.

That it is a "disgrace" to have "the itch" (scabies).

MARRIAGE, PARENTS, AND CHILDREN

That no man or woman can ever honestly love but once.

That second marriages are sinful.

That South Carolina is the greatest state in the Union because she has no divorce law.

That divorces should never be granted, no matter what the cause.

That a man takes his *first wife* as his partner when he gets to Heaven—if he gets there after being forgiven for his second marriage.

That parents cannot possibly show their love unwisely.

That parents who are honest and sincere are necessarily "wise" and "always right" in their dealings with their children.

That the test of a good mother is "how much" she loves the child, without regard for "how wisely" she manifests that devotion.

That children are a sort of necessary nuisance.

That children are a mere adjunct to civilization—for the purpose of providing more adults in the future.

That in the home a boy's older sisters are necessarily always "right" and should, therefore, be obeyed without challenge on all occasions.

That children are untrustworthy; and that the word of a child cannot ever be taken seriously.

That no child should ever be given any responsibility or entrusted with any important work.

That children should never be allowed to speak or declare their own ideas; that they should only respond to the questions and directions of adults.

That young men and women should never kiss unless engaged.

That a girl's morals may be judged by the time she makes her gentlemen friends leave her home at night.

THE NEGRO

That no Negro should be allowed to vote.

That Negroes should not be allowed to own property.

That education beyond the elementary grades "spoils" or "ruins" any Negro.

That all white persons have souls; but that Negroes do not.

HISTORY AND POLITICS

That it is a "disgrace" to vote the Republican ticket.

That Abraham Lincoln was a scoundrel.

That all Germans are cruel.

That all American soldiers who fought in the World War are noble patriots and heroes.

That all great Americans have come from the small village or from the country, most of them from the country.

That no young man or boy who is frequently seen down town after dark "will ever amount to anything," "can ever become a great man."

MISCELLANEOUS

That the hoot-owls (screech-owls) really do bring bad luck or death within their sound-range.

That persons who live on one side of the railroad are necessarily "better" than their neighbors "across the way." (The railroad runs exactly through the middle of main street.)

That fighting for any reason whatsoever is sinful—even if in self-defense.

That a boy should never fight—no matter what the provocation.

That no man should ever strike a woman—not even in self-defense.

That it is a sin for men and women to go bathing together in regular bathing suits.

That it is rather effeminate for a man or boy to speak exactly correct English, or for him to be very careful with this language.

That it is "sissy" for a boy to play the piano or to study voice.

That any person who has been "abroad" is necessarily wise.



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GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE URBAN-RURAL CONFLICT AS EVIDENCED IN THE REAPPORTIONMENT SITUATION

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THE ever-increasing trend of city growth throughout the whole history of the United States has given rise to any number of economic, social, and political problems and conditions which would have been nonexistent in a purely rural civilization. With the development of peoples living within the confines of a common geographical section, and with similar aims of self-government and democracy, yet with different culture traits, complexes and attitudes such as is the case with urban and rural dwellers, it is inevitable that conflict between them for the desired goal take on overt manifestation.

We shall examine this conflict as it finds expression in the reapportionment question. When population shifts from country to city, or when there is an increment from other sources to the city's population, shall the right to elect representatives to Congress or to the state legislature also shift from country to city? Shall the old and established farmers sacrifice upon the altars of new, congested industrial centers their cherished representatives?

The Census and Reapportionment Bill of 1929, with its provision for reapportionment of the representation of the

States in the House of Representatives and in the Presidential Electoral College on the basis of population as shown in the fifteenth census,¹ forms the starting point from which we may follow through the above-mentioned questions.

In the case of California, nine new representatives could be elected to Congress. Los Angeles, with the 2,000,000 population of Los Angeles county and only two representatives, demanded the redistribution of California so that she would receive eight of these nine.² The northern part of the state, on the other hand, housing the older and more rural territory, objected strenuously to such an allocation.³ After a violent battle, in which the north attempted to secure an equal division of representatives—10 to the north and 10 to the south—California was finally redistricted so that the north received nine and the south 11 representatives. Los Angeles county ended up with seven seats, which meant a gain of five out of the nine, and San Francisco secured only two seats, despite her decla-

¹ Congressional Digest, December, 1930, pp. 314-315.

² New York Times, March 15, III, 6: 6, 1931.

³ New York Times, April 26, III, 6: 1, 1931.

rations that her population warranted three.⁴

In Michigan we see Governor Brucker signing the Harding redistricting bill, which bill gave Wayne County, in which Detroit lies, one representative in Congress for every 350,000 inhabitants, and the rest of Michigan one for every 250,000. Wayne's delegation in the state legislature voted unanimously for the Harding bill, using the argument that it was "all Wayne could get from a Legislature dominated by the farms and small towns."⁵ Citizens of Detroit were highly indignant with what they called a very unfair districting.

We have these evidences of a conflict common to the entire United States (in the south,⁶ west, north-central sections, etc.) based on the unwillingness of the rural dwellers to sacrifice to the newly and rapidly growing cities their share of government in this democracy. On the other hand we see the city clamoring vociferously and constantly for a more fair and true representation of her masses.

The urban-rural battle does not confine itself within the boundaries of states, but is nation-wide in activity. The conflict is as severe between states as it is within the bounds of one state. Thus we see states embodying large industrial centers striving against states consisting chiefly of villages and small towns. And once more the Census and Reapportionment Bill of 1929 is the stimulus for a splendid display of nation-wide rural pugnacity and urban demands.

⁴ New International Year Book, 1931, p. 135.

⁵ New York Times, April 19, III, 5: 8, 1931.

⁶ In the case of North Carolina, when she was given the privilege of electing a new Congressman (Public Law, number 13), the highly developed industrial Piedmont district benefited, despite the fight of the eastern agricultural counties. New York Times, March 1, III, 8: 7, 1931.

Since this bill bases reapportionment on the entire free population of the United States (barring untaxed Indians) which, according to the 1930 Census, is 122,093,455 souls, those industrial centers where large numbers of aliens have segregated naturally profit. California, Michigan, Texas, New York, and New Jersey were the recipients of the largest gains, nine, four, three, two and two representatives being gained respectively. Congress members from those states losing seats in the House (Missouri, three; Georgia, two; Iowa, two; Kentucky, two; Pennsylvania, two, were the greatest losers) immediately raised the alien issue.⁷

Representative Rankin of Mississippi (which state lost one representative) made a fiery attack upon the bill in which he said that "the outstanding evil" in the reapportionment play lay in the fact that there are included in this Census more than 7,500,000 aliens who are not yet American citizens, "Yet representation is being taken away from our American citizens in old settled states, such as Virginia, Mississippi, Kansas, Iowa, and Minnesota and is given to these foreigners."⁸

That we have, in this quarrel, a definite west vs. east bout is quite evident when we hear pearls like these falling from the lips of Representative Hoch of Kansas. "The situation gives aliens an influence upon legislation to which they are not entitled. It is not fair to the other states that New York should cast four extra votes on important issues affecting the whole country, because 1,600,000 aliens happen to congregate there."⁹ Representative Hoch was the author of the proposed constitutional amendment to

⁷ New York Times, November 19, 2: 7, 1930; New York Times, November 20, 2: 7, 1930.

⁸ New York Times, November 20, 2: 7, 1930.

⁹ New York Times, January 15, 48: 2, 1931.

exclude from the 1920 Census the 7 million aliens here.¹⁰

The House Judiciary Committee interpreted such an amendment to have one of two purposes,—either to increase the dry vote in the House, or to destroy the power of the larger states (since 68½ of all foreign born are found in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and California).¹¹

Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts, in direct opposition to the agricultural states and their clamors, offered an amendment reducing representation in the southern states on the ground that in the census of population of these states, Negroes were counted, whereas the Negroes were not permitted to vote.¹² Thus the industrial states would take advantage of the alleged disfranchisement of the Negro to reduce representation in the South, were the agrarian South and West to be insistent upon their alien issue. Through such a reduction, argue the urbanites, the supporters of prohibition in the dry South would be reduced. Therefore, they laugh at the "fantastic" amendment plans of the rural states.¹³

Representative Cochran of Missouri, an anti-prohibitionist, desired congressional redistricting rather than election at large in each of the states gaining representatives. Why? In order that the "West" side should not be deprived of its fair representation in Congress. Cochran feared that "the new representation will not be fair to the populous cities if delegates-at-large are elected"¹⁴ since he knows the power of rural sentiment.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, New York Times.

¹¹ New York Times, February 22, II, 4: 3, 1931. Such an amendment would obviously have the effect of giving less representation to large alien centers.

¹² Congressional Digest, December 1930, pp. 314-315.

¹³ New York Times, November 25, 1930, 26: 5.

¹⁴ New York Times, December 25, 25: 2, 1930.

Thus, he does not wish to see the industrial centers, where the wets and anti-prohibitionists are strong, suffer.

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, a definitely industrial state, in answer to the proposal to exclude the alien count in reapportioning the House, gave the argument that states like New York which have lots of aliens have, at the same time, the largest percentage of voting citizens. He says, "The exclusion of aliens would transfer representation from states with large voting populations to states with small voting populations, which would be a queer way to reward "citizenship" in the practical use of that sacred word."¹⁵

The above illustrations serve to show the existence of a conflict between urban dwellers and rural dwellers over the problem of reapportionment.

Now, we ask ourselves, how many of the states possessing large cities have reapportioned to meet their demands? What is the average number of large cities per state that have reapportioned; that have not reapportioned? Does a correlation exist between possessing large cities and reapportioning in the state legislatures or congress? What proportion of the states have reapportioned at all? How do the different sections of the country rank in reapportionment in relation to other sections?

In order to answer questions such as these, the writer sent out questionnaires to the secretaries of each state in the union, asking them whether or not their state reapportioned in the state legislature or in Congress for the years 1910, 1920, and 1930. Thirty-seven states returned the questionnaires filled in at least in part.¹⁶

¹⁵ New York Times, December 4, 20: 3, 1930.

¹⁶ Those states which did not reply were: Connecticut, North Dakota, Nebraska, Delaware, Maryland, Mississippi, California, Louisiana, Texas,

Of these states replying the following percentage has reapportioned after each Census as indicated:

Year	Percentage reapportioning	
	In State Legislature	In Congress
1930.....	46	54
1920.....	47	22
1910.....	36	41

We may explain the increase in the number of states reapportioning in 1920 in the state legislature as made necessary by growth of cities, but at the same time cannot account for the *decrease* in the number reapportioning to Congress in the same year. Likewise, we may attempt to explain the increase in the number reapportioning to Congress in 1930, but find it difficult to account for the *decrease* in the same year in the number reapportioning in the state legislature. It would seem, in interpreting these data, that as a rule states do not reapportion in both their state legislatures and Congress at the same time. Thus, in 1920, while many of the states reapportioned to the state legislature, they neglected Congress, and in 1930 the greater percentage reapportioned to Congress, while those reapportioning to the state legislature remained about the same.

Do certain sections of the country reapportion more than other sections? Using the reports of those states replying, and with the above percentages as bases for the United States, we see the ranking for for each year as indicated in Table I.

What do we find? We find that a relatively large percentage of the East North Central section, consisting of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, has reapportioned each 10-year interval to the state legislature, and each year ex-

cept 1930 to Congress. We find also that the proportion of New England states (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut) reapportioning at each ten-year interval to the state legislature is very high, and at each interval, except at 1910 the percentage is very high also of her states reapportioning to Congress. A relatively large percentage of the Middle Atlantic section (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania) has reapportioned to the state legislature in 1920 and 1910, and to Congress in 1930 and 1910. *In re* the West North Central section (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas) a large proportion of these states have reapportioned each of the three decennial periods to Congress, but at no time to the state legislature. This is the interesting fact. *Each of these four sections, a large percentage of the states of which have reapportioned almost at each decennium either to both the state legislature and Congress or to Congress only, contains a larger percentage of the 62 largest cities of the United States than any other section.*

A table showing the percentage of these 62 largest cities in the United States possessed by each section follows:

Section	Percentage of 62 largest cities possessed
Middle Atlantic.....	19
East North Central.....	19
New England.....	15
West North Central.....	11
South Atlantic.....	8
Pacific.....	8
East South Central.....	6
West South Central.....	6
Mountain.....	3

Are we to conclude that the existence and development of large cities in these first four sections has necessitated their frequent reapportioning? It seems that such is the case, if we can put much trust

New Mexico, but since this paper was written, Connecticut and Louisiana, have answered the questionnaire.

TABLE I
PERCENTAGES OF STATES IN EACH SECTION OF THE UNITED STATES REAPPORTIONING

SECTION	STATE LEGISLATURE	SECTION	CONGRESS
1930			
New England.....	80	East South Central.....	100
East North Central.....	80	New England.....	80
South Atlantic.....	50	West North Central.....	80
West South Central.....	50	South Atlantic.....	66 $\frac{2}{3}$
Pacific.....	50	Middle Atlantic.....	66 $\frac{2}{3}$
United States base.....	46	United States base.....	54
Mountain.....	40	Pacific.....	50
Middle Atlantic.....	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	East North Central.....	40
West North Central.....	20	Mountain.....	0
East South Central.....	0	West South Central.....	0
1920			
Middle Atlantic.....	66 $\frac{2}{3}$		
East North Central.....	60		
New England.....	60		
South Atlantic.....	50	East North Central.....	50
West South Central.....	50	West North Central.....	50
Pacific.....	50	New England.....	40
United States base.....	47	East South Central.....	33 $\frac{1}{3}$
Mountain.....	20	United States base.....	22
West North Central.....	20	Mountain.....	16 $\frac{2}{3}$
East South Central.....	0	West South Central.....	0
		South Atlantic.....	0
		Middle Atlantic.....	0
1910			
New England.....	80	Middle Atlantic.....	100
East North Central.....	60	East North Central.....	75
Middle Atlantic.....	50	South Atlantic.....	66 $\frac{2}{3}$
West South Central.....	50	West North Central.....	50
Mountain.....	40	Pacific.....	50
United States base.....	36	United States base.....	41
South Atlantic.....	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	East South Central.....	33 $\frac{1}{3}$
West North Central.....	0	New England.....	20
East South Central.....	0	Mountain.....	16 $\frac{2}{3}$
Pacific.....	0	West South Central.....	0

in the incomplete statistics from 37 states. Before we draw this deduction, however, let us look at those sections of the coun-

try of which the percentage of states reapportioning is, as a rule, not very large—the East South Central Section

(Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi), the Mountain Section (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada), and the West South Central Section (none of these states, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, have reapportioned to Congress at any of the three intervals, and the percentage reapportioning to the state legislatures has always remained slightly above the general level). These three sections possess the least number of the 62 largest cities.

And let us look also at the two sections which would fall in the middle of the normal distribution curve for the percentage of big cities possessed by districts, were one to be drawn—the South Atlantic (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina) and Pacific (Washington, California, Oregon) sections. They also would fall in the middle of a bell-shaped curve for the percentage of states reapportioning were one to be drawn.

It seems, then, we may by inspection, if not by mathematical demonstration, say that there seems to be a marked correlation in the various sections of the

United States between the number of large cities possessed by each district and the extent to which the states within each district reapportion.

In summarizing, I shall work backwards from the data presented and set forth what I have found in its relation to the general topic of discussion. The statistics gathered (always remembering, of course, that they are incomplete) show a definite trend on the part of those states in districts possessing the largest percentage of big cities to reapportion more frequently than those states in districts possessing fewer large cities. The fact that the former sections, namely, East North Central, New England, Middle Atlantic and West North Central, *do* reapportion shows the pressure which growing and developing cities force upon their states and gives ground for dissent on the part of rural dwellers within each state. And further, the fact that congressional reapportionment has been especially advantageous to the Middle Atlantic and East North Central sections (referring to the Bill of 1929) has given rise to considerable conflict between "urban" and "rural" States.

(Concluded from page 405)

involved. They will give the Commission a sense of reality and contact with practical life that should add greatly to the value of its final report. (4) Public hearings will be held in important centers throughout the country at which individuals and groups will testify on the problems involved. (5) A small and very select group of outstanding foreigners—English, French and German—will be asked to submit written memoranda. (6) Gaps in information will be filled in from published materials, mainly government reports of the United States and other countries. (7) The research staff will collect all material—evaluate the data, and write the report which is to be submitted to the American people early in October, 1934.

It is the belief of the Commission that the inquiry here outlined will result in the submission to the American people of a comprehensive report, on which the best minds of Europe and America will have co-operated, and which can then be made the basis of a consistent policy of real practical value to the United States.

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Special Book Reviews by L. L. BERNARD, ERNEST R. GROVES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER,
RUPERT B. VANCE, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

A DECADE OF "PLANNING" LITERATURE*

EVELYN C. BROOKS AND LEE M. BROOKS

University of North Carolina

IN "Five Years of 'Planning' Literature" which appeared in the March 1933 issue of this JOURNAL an attempt was made—following the impetus of the work done by President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends and the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council—to examine the evidence of interest in social planning as measured by recent literature and to give a suggestive array of the amount and nature of source material which would be of value in regional studies, especially for the South. With this purpose in mind we have not only penetrated further into the five-year period, 1928-1932, but have also extended the search more carefully back to 1923 and into the middle of 1933. The result is set forth in Tables I and II where it will be noted that the trend of the total 1,598 titles is not markedly different from that revealed in connection with the 927 titles of a year ago. Seriously expressed interest in planning is mounting as the fourth decade of the century advances.

The current American attention to

planning indicates a moving away from the static position and indifference of the earlier years of the century, when, as described by Theodora Kimball in the *National Municipal Review* of January 1920, our plans were fragmentary and small-scale largely because of governmental apathy. Today government itself is looking forward. Many are certain that it is actually moving forward.

As for the substance of this article, it should be emphasized again that neither the 927 titles of last year nor the 671 about to be examined, represent separate plans. Nor can all of them be considered empirical or practical. Indeed there is danger that the idea and the word "planning" itself will become a meaningless catch-all. At any rate some of the titles are scarcely more than wishful hunches while a few are naïvely fanciful. They all, however, manifest an earnest striving to meet the greatest challenge that civilization has yet encountered, and most of them do have something substantial to offer.

In arranging this supplementary list of titles the same problems of classification obtain as with the 927 of a year ago. A great amount of overlapping is inevitable and in a few cases this has been of such a nature as to justify a cross-reference. For example, literature on land-use might be

*Reprints of *A Decade of "Planning" Literature* and also *Five Years of "Planning" Literature* (SOCIAL FORCES, XI, 430-465), including the representative bibliographies on social planning, may be secured for ten cents postpaid from SOCIAL FORCES, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.—Editors.

sought under *Agriculture*, where it would quite properly fit, but because of the regional implications such titles have been put under *Rural and Land Planning*.

Another slight change from last year will be noted in the method of classifying. The headings which have this time been absorbed into other groupings are: *State*, *Forestry*, *Child Welfare*, *Community*, *Emergency*, and *Need of Planning*. *Unemploy-*

Periodicals from which ten or more titles were taken are as follows: *American Bankers Association Journal*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Bankers' Magazine*, *Current History*, *Nation*, *National Municipal Review*, *New Republic*, and *Review of Reviews and World's Work*.

Periodicals from which three to nine titles were taken are as follows: *American*

TABLE I
CONDENSED CLASSIFICATION WITH INDICATION OF SOURCES OF 1598 TITLES ON PLANNING*

CONDENSED CLASSIFICATION	PERIODICALS		BOOKS		BULLETINS, REPORTS, PAMPHLETS		SUB-TOTALS		TOTALS
	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	
International.....	48	39	15	12	1	2	64	53	117
National.....	82	44	32	26	5	2	119	72	191
State.....	21		1		1		23		23
Regional.....	196	120	29	21	12	35	237	176	413
Economic.....	141	156	26	37	12	9	179	202	381
Social.....	155	91	20	43	10	9	185	143	328
Unemployment.....	62	14	8	8		3	70	25	95
Emergency.....	21		1		3		25		25
Need of Planning.....	24		1				25		25
	750	464	133	147	44	60	927	671	1,598
	1214		280		104		1598		

* This table includes the figures from Table IV, *SOCIAL FORCES*, March 1933, p. 433. The italics indicate supplementary literature discovered and compiled during the year. A few items which appeared in last year's article are omitted this year. No new State plans or titles appeared. Also it seemed better to merge Forestry, Child Welfare, Community, Emergency, and Need of Planning under other heads,—Forestry, for example, being put with Rural and Land Planning.

ment follows *Social Insurance* under the general head of *Social*.

For this year as for last year the same general method of search for material was followed. Among the most helpful guides to literature were: *Agricultural Economic Literature* (mimeographed), *Agricultural Index*, *Book Review Digest*, *International Index*, *Library of Congress Bibliographies*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, *Readers' Guide*, and *Social Science Abstracts*.

City, *American Economic Review*, *American Federationist*, *American Forests*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *American Society Municipal Engineers (Proceedings)*, *American Society Municipal Improvements (Proceedings)*, *Annals of Collective Economy*, *Architectural Record*, *Barron's*, *Business Week*, *Christian Century*, *City Planning*, *Commerce and Finance*, *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, *Congressional Digest*, *Contemporary Review*, *Country Gentleman*, *Economic Review of the*

TABLE II
GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF 1598 TITLES ON PLANNING WITH DETAILED DISTRIBUTION BY YEARS*

CLASSIFICATION	1913-24		1925-26		1927		1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		First Half 1933	SUB-TOTALS		TOTALS
	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934	March, 1933	March, 1934		March, 1933	March, 1934	
International.....							9		14	4	13	5	20	12	8	24	8	64	53	117
National:																				
United States.....			2						4		3		18	3	10	17	5	37	25	
Foreign.....			1		2		5	1	12	1	16	2	39	5	7	24	14	82	47	191
State.....			2		1		2		4		2		7		5			23		23
Regional:																				
General.....	1		6	4	4		11	1	10	3	18	3	19	10	2	8	33	71	62	
Communication.....			1	3		1	2	3	6	1	6	5	4	1	1	3	3	20	20	
Forestry.....									2		10				2			21		
Metropolitan.....			4	4	4	9	2	5	2	14	2	18		14	4	7	20	71	48	
New Towns.....	1	1	2		6	2	10		6	1	9	1	5	1	1	2		40	8	
Rural and Land Planning.....	1	3	1	5		2	3		1	2	4	3	3	4	1	15	4	14	38	413
Economic:																				
General.....			1				1		5		4		24	5	15	41	24	50	70	
Agricultural.....			1	2	3	2	7		14	4	21	1	26	3	5	51	39	77	102	
Industrial.....			1		1		6	1	9		1	2	26		8	12	15	52	30	381
Social:																				
General.....	1		2	1			7	2	6	2	6	1	8	2	3	13	11	31	34	
Child Welfare.....					2		1		4		6		3		1			17		
Community.....							1		3		4		7					15		
Government.....				5	3	3	5	1	14		6		3		2	14	6	33	29	
Health.....			1	1	3	1	5	3	8	2	8	2	7	1	4	7	4	36	21	
Housing.....		3	1	1	1	2	7	2	7	1	4		2	2	4	17	9	26	37	
Social Insurance.....							5		7		7		6	2	2	15	5	27	22	328
Unemployment.....							1		5	1	14	1	40	4	10	12	7	70	25	95
Emergency.....			1		6		2		6		2		8					25		25
Need of Planning.....					1		1		3		2		10		8			25		25
	3	13	26	28	42	13	96	16	164	24	184	26	306	59	106	295	197	927	671	1598
	16		54		55		112		188		210		365		401		197	1598		

* This table includes the figures presented in Table III, SOCIAL FORCES, March 1933, p. 432. The italics indicate supplementary material discovered and compiled during the year.

Soviet Union, Economist, Editorial Research Reports, Engineering News-Record, Farm Journal, Fortune, Index, International Labour Review, Journal of Educational Sociology, Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, Journal of Political Economy, Literary Digest, Living Age, Magazine of Wall Street, Manufacturer's Record, Mechanical Engineering, Monthly Labor Review, Montana Farmer, National Real Estate Journal, Nation's Business, New Outlook, Nineteenth Century and After, Northwest Miller, Round Table, SOCIAL FORCES, Survey, Survey Graphic, Town Planning Review, United States Daily, and Yale Review.

One hundred and seven other periodicals furnished one or two titles each.

It should be kept in mind that the following analyses, while generally pertinent to the total 1,598 titles, deal more specifically with the present list of 671.

INTERNATIONAL

Titles on the international situation may be grouped according to several emphases, the greater part of the literature falling under debts and reparations. Between 40 and 50 per cent of the titles are directly concerned with the Dawes and Young plans. The proposed International Bank also receives considerable attention *pro* and *con*. The tangled problem of armaments and reparations is discussed by several writers and especially by D'Ormesson who has a plan for rehabilitating Europe.

Another 40 per cent of the total material may be classified under the general head of economic, much of it carrying the "ought" emphasis. "Our planning should seek to establish the reign of justice," or "let us aim for the development of human well-being; let us raise the world standards of living; let us have a closely articulated programme of world economic

reconstruction"—such pleas appear frequently and not always without concrete, practical suggestions. The dominant wish is clearly for international coöperation.

At least a dozen titles deal with the subject comprehensively. To name only a few: Norman Angell's *From Chaos to Control*, Nicholas Murray Butler's plan to end depressions, half of the July 1932 issue of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and Sir Arthur Salter's *Recovery: The Second Effort*.

As for the less numerous but more finely focussed plans, most of them have to do with crop production and control. Some of them have actually been tried, for instance the Stevenson rubber plan from 1922 to 1928, and the Chadbourne sugar plan which seems to have met with only partial success.

Of the handful of titles remaining, perhaps the most prominent are those on the international phases of public works designed to combat the world-wide economic depression. Writers from the socialist and capitalist viewpoints are represented by Scott Nearing in *Must We Starve?* in which he tells why neither emergency measures nor capitalistic planning can avert catastrophe, while on the other hand Frank Norman in his reconstruction plan "respectfully submits to the League of Nations and the World Economic Conference" his scheme for saving capitalism through international trade agreements, stabilized prices, controlled credits, and higher wages. As for that *summum bonum*, world peace, the French Plan offered at the Disarmament Conference is looked upon by Lord Davies as aiming to organize the resources of Europe on the side of peace through the agency of the League of Nations which would possess definite sanctions transforming it from a debating society into an international authority.

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NATIONAL

Of the 72 titles, 25 may be looked upon as more or less domestic and 47 as foreign in their implications. Although no definite separation is made between the two in this brief discussion, the titles are listed later as United States and Foreign. The numerous references to National Economic Councils are included in this general grouping.

How enforce a comprehensive plan in a free country—Who shall plan? This editorial query in the American Bankers' Association Journal in 1931 seems to have a partial answer from John Corbin who sees the crux of the matter in centralized authority, the "interplay of local and individual initiative with collective control." He is dubious about any attempt to graft the principles of a Communist Five-Year Plan onto our capitalistic system. Of similar mind is Sir Arthur Salter who expresses skepticism in *The Framework of an Ordered Society*: "Democratic parliamentary government cannot plan, it can merely improvise" until legislative bodies are content to delegate an increasing amount of their powers to the executive who must in turn heed expert opinion far more than at present is the case. From the Institute of Public Administration in Oxford in 1933 have come further assertions that there are three main conditions of effective planning and that these involve research, public opinion, and political institutions which can both coördinate and sanction.

Early in the year 1932 the League for Independent Political Action expressed itself as committed to a third party based on the principle of comprehensive social planning and control. Also in that year Stuart Chase published *A New Deal*, a plea for a planned economy not greatly different from the Soviet Five-Year Plan. A few months later President Roosevelt

in *Looking Forward* takes the middle of the road with "bold, persistent experimentation."

Among the many who see the need for a permanent, non-political, centralized planning board are Otto H. Kahn and W. B. Donham. While national planning may not immediately lead the way out of present conditions, it is, according to some writers, none too soon to start a planning commission the fruitage of whose work may not appear for several decades.

National planning with stress upon the economic aspects has had large place in periodical literature. Here again and again is pointed out the need of a National Economic Advisory Council, primarily a fact-finding authority with the force of governmental backing. The last decade has seen the establishment of governmental councils for the investigation of economic problems in France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and Great Britain. Such organizations have been proposed for Greece, Australia, and the United States. In discussing economic planning under our laws, W. J. Shepard believes the question of the constitutionality of a national plan will depend upon the degree to which the Supreme Court may give a broadly social interpretation to the due process clause.¹

¹To stay experimentation in things social and economic is a grave responsibility. Denial of the right to experiment may be fraught with serious consequences to the Nation. . . . This Court has the power to prevent an experiment. We may strike down the statute which embodies it on the ground that, in our opinion, the measure is arbitrary, capricious or unreasonable. We have power to do this, because the due process clause has been held by the Court applicable to matters of substantive law as well as to matters of procedure. But in the exercise of this high power, we must be ever on our guard, lest we erect our prejudices into legal principles. If we would guide by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold. (From the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Brandeis, *New State Ice Co. vs. E. A. Liebmann*, March 21, 1932).

Under the title *Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program*, H. W. Laidler edits the views of several contributors who debate various economic problems and proposed social changes. The communists also have something to add along the lines of national planning in W. Z. Foster's *Towards Soviet America*. The books by H. Bräutigam and Giovanni Donna deal with the economic policies and programs of the Nazis and the Fascists respectively.

REGIONAL

The region—with its derivative terminologies commonly lacking in definiteness or agreement of meaning—will possibly come into clearer view as a field of study and action as time goes on. The study of regions is quite different from the regionalism most commonly discussed.²

Regional planning which has been under way so intensively for some years in England and the continent has more recently gathered momentum on an extensive scale here in America. While

² Howard W. Odum, "Notes on the Study of Regional and Folk Society." *SOCIAL FORCES*, X. 4-5 (December, 1931).

"The region is smaller than 'society' yet is definitive of society. It is characterized by the joint indices of geography and culture and derives its definitive traits through action and behavior processes and social patterns rather than through technological functions or areas. Even though a social region should coincide largely with a technological one, as in the case of a textile or mining or political region, it is important to emphasize the fundamental distinctions between the formal regionalism measured through technical processes at the top and the social or folk regionalism characterized and conditioned by the social processes at the bottom. These distinctions are equally important for the theoretical study of society as emphasized here, or for the descriptive and 'practical' study of contemporary societies, or for the utilization of such study for social planning."

For further reference to the cultural basis of regional planning see the series of articles entitled "Bench-Marks in the Tennessee Valley" beginning in the January 1934 issue of the *Survey Graphic*.

much that we have been calling regional planning is, like the intensive English type, really metropolitan planning, there has been considerable emphasis of late upon the region and the sub-region. Evidence of this is most clear in the plans for the Tennessee Valley about which there has appeared a great quantity of literature. The project is designed, according to President Roosevelt and Chairman Arthur E. Morgan, to bring about a balanced development of the social and economic life of one region which will serve as a laboratory for guidance in the planning of other regions. For electric power it may serve as a measuring stick. This means disquiet in some quarters; various "interests" are concerned. One writer refers to the "heart-flutters of the delighted out-paced radicals and the spinal shivers of the apprehensive conservatives." The liberal journals and editorials hail with joy what they consider just a promising beginning. Under the title "Mr. Roosevelt's Vision of a Tennessee Utopia" are sundry press comments which can be grouped as favorable, non-committal, and definitely opposed to the plan. Still other commentators, especially some of those in the financial and business journals, refer to the project as nebulous, a threat to public utility investments; they warn about land speculation, that while an interesting humanitarian experiment is being tried, as a business proposition it is doubtful. The foresters have enthusiastically lined up with the plan. With familiar terminology the planners like Benton Mackaye believe that culturally as well as physically at least fifteen other Appalachian valleys can be similarly improved. From this specific project there may be seen emerging, according to E. M. Barrows and B. G. Lewis, the United Regions of America (U. R. A.), a new nation in which states

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recede in importance as compared with the half dozen regions that can be defined geographically and even represented by an advisory third branch of Congress.

The human geographic interest in regionalism is exemplified in the volume by R. B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South*, which has been widely acclaimed as the type of study that would form a most valuable source and chart for economic and social planning. The article by O. P. Starkey also emphasizes the "human-use" region rather than that determined by static natural boundaries.

The less extensive type of specialized regional planning having to do with metropolitan areas is touched upon in the articles on the Westchester Park System. Decentralization is observed by some writers to be as inevitable as it is desirable. As regards city planning, especially in its technical aspects, an attempt has been made to include only that which looks toward the larger areas. (See footnote under *Regional, General list*.)

The trend in planning activities is away from the localistic, whether town or state, to the larger area. This is obvious in the Tennessee Valley venture and in the boundary-minimizing metropolitan plans. Sufficient concrete evidence of this trend is at hand to justify what would otherwise be dismissed as impractical Utopianism.

Communication: More than half the titles in this group are concerned with waterways, mainly in connection with the Saint Lawrence project which arouses both apprehension and enthusiasm. Generally speaking, the engineering and commercial aspects of the plan find favor but the potential international complications disturb the writers on both sides of the border.

Three articles have to do with railways and the rest deal with highways and traffic, for which the chief objectives

seem to be the promotion of beauty and the relief of congestion, with the exception of one which discusses eighteen months' experience of state maintenance of roads in North Carolina, largely by convict labor.

Metropolitan: It is not surprising that the most congested area in the country, with its water barrier to expansion on the East, should be the region most energetic in its efforts to plan ways out of manifold and cumulative difficulties. The New York City region has for a decade received greater publicity than any other metropolitan section, with the more recent Philadelphia-Camden-Trenton-Wilmington group (Tri-State Plan) and the District of Columbia-Maryland-Virginia region coming next in the number of titles. An occasional article appears in connection with other large centers such as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, and Los Angeles.

Not all writers agree that just the right plan is under way for a given section, especially for greater New York. A critic of that scheme has been described by one noted planner as an impractical, over-idealistic, esthete-sociologist. The difference of opinion places the emphasis respectively on the human and the technological elements.

Overseas, according to discoverable titles, active planning proceeds in the larger cities of England, France, Germany, and Italy. Plans pertaining to China and Japan were mentioned in our article of a year ago.

In addition to primary emphasis upon improved roadways and traffic relief, the comprehensive plans both here and abroad give considerable attention to beautification, parks and recreation, and to preservation of historic features.

Legal and governmental aspects have been treated in books and articles. Two substantial London publications are listed,

each dealing with the law relating to town and country planning for England. The United States Department of Commerce issued in 1928 a fifty-three page guide for States desiring to grant their cities the authority necessary for effective planning.

Much of the material, about a dozen titles including those on city or town planning, is of a general and theoretical nature. Another dozen have to do with trends that are observed by such authors as Thomas Adams, H. S. Buttenheim, Theodora Kimball Hubbard, and John Nolen. The importance of the human factor in planning is dealt with not only by the social scientist but also by an increasing number of engineers who believe that "structural engineering and social engineering will and must become increasingly interdependent." W. R. Tylor and J. L. Crane, Jr. are in this group. Other tendencies are toward urban decentralization and regionalism; closer coordination of the different technical groups, as engineers, architects, and landscape planners; and more emphasis on comprehensive plans combined with long-term budgeting.

An indication of the growing importance of regional and city planning is the fact that previous to 1922 the *Proceedings* of the annual conventions of the American Society for Municipal Improvements (now American Society for Municipal Engineering) gives almost no place to papers definitely on such planning. Since 1922 a section on "City Planning" has played an active part. In the decade interest has grown from two papers covering fifteen pages to twelve papers totalling sixty-two pages, with an increasingly broad range of subjects from traffic and parks to financing and design. The bulletins by L. G. Chase tabulate the official planning commissions of the 828 municipalities and the 79 regions in this country which have under-

taken some form of group organization for planning.

New Towns: Few titles remain after the presentation of our list a year ago. The earlier 1920's revealed little in connection with the garden city or suburb in America although such were in existence abroad. In 1923 one of our journals carried a translation of Rading's article on the garden village from *Der Städtebau*. By this time literature was available on Kingsport, Tennessee, also on Letchworth and Welwyn in England, and on the resumption of work on Australia's planned capital, Canberra. A little later Mariemont, Kohler, Kristenstad, and other American newly made towns began to receive notice. Still later came Radburn and Boulder City. Though no title is here given for the Tennessee Valley town of Norris, it is mentioned as an evidence of the dynamic nature of this sort of planning which is so much in contrast to the old type of mushroom industrial town. Norris is being built for permanency with all those features that mean well ordered living for its people.

Rural and Land Planning. (See *Agriculture*.) It is especially difficult to arrange this as a distinct division since much of the material falls almost equally well under the heads of *Regional* or *National* or *Agricultural*. Some of the titles so listed contain the rural and land planning emphasis.

Of the two-score titles in this list almost half of them deal with colonization projects. The earlier dates report the working out of agricultural land settlement planned largely as a means of providing jobs and homes for demobilized soldiers. The past three years offer similar plans to decentralize industry and combat unemployment. A half-dozen plans are limited to the utilization of sub-marginal

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land which is also a factor in about a dozen dealing with land-use planning, and it is this group that shows an increasingly scientific approach from both the technological and the social standpoints. Four articles are concerned with rural replanning, three of these being of English locale.

In connection with land-use, the United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, published in 1933 a large map entitled "Natural Land-Use Areas of the United States" with 272 explanatory notes on the face of the map sheet itself, providing instant reference to the designated areas.

The sub-heading *Forestry* used last year has been omitted this time because the subject is included in nearly all these titles on land-use planning and sub-marginal land.

ECONOMIC

About half of the seventy titles apportioned to the economic list are of a comprehensive nature, including combinations of remedies as diverse as stabilization of labor and money, coördination of agriculture and industry, conservation of natural resources, a planned price level, and membership in the World Court. In them are found diagnoses and prescriptions for an ailing economic organism as seen by bankers, business men, social scientists, and engineers. The criticisms that have been exchanged as to remedies have not always been of the soothing-syrup type.

In "Dubious Depression Remedies," the *Bankers' Magazine* editorially suggests in 1931 that reputable charitable agencies are to be preferred to public employment relief and unemployment insurance. In June 1933, prior to the governmental examination of the president of the Chase National Bank, B. M. Anderson of that

institution described planned economy as a dangerous doctrine and in true Adam Smithian manner expressed his convictions that intelligent self-interest offered safer guidance. John Strachey, with communistic flavor, not only criticizes those who emphasize monetary reforms in a crisis that in his opinion is non-monetary, but also considers national planning merely another name for organized capitalism, ultra-imperialism, or Fascism. Still others point out that administrative steps toward a planned economy are being taken while legislation still leans on the American principle of freedom for the individual.

Many are the platforms and programs. The Chairman of the United States Chamber of Commerce presents a twelve-plank platform. Herbert Hoover looks toward economic recovery with a nine-point program. A group of economists in their letter to President Roosevelt shortly after his election, set forth the main points in their minimum program for recovery as: adherence to the gold standard, tariff revisions, and debt adjustment. The American Engineering Council had outlined by the middle of 1932 a research project or stabilization study "to provide a prescription for the economic and social ills of the country."

Among the needs most commonly emphasized are the following: A central planning board and national economic council, the amendment of anti-trust laws, and a new philosophy of production for use rather than for profit.

A half-dozen or more of the titles are focussed on the stabilization of business itself. Reference to the control of the business cycle is fairly frequent. The McDonald plan would have each business set up a reserve fund from excess profits in good periods as insurance against times of stress, and the Rorty plan sees the

need for a federal subsidy to business. J. M. Keynes holds that control of the business cycle should be directed toward keeping the long-term market rate of interest equal to the long-term natural rate of interest so as to maintain an equilibrium between saving and investing.

Some fifteen titles deal with the money problem, mainly the question of gold. For a general idea of the discussion the books and articles by Blackett, Boris, Eisler, Graham, Hazlitt, Fisher, Keynes, and Wager are suggested.

An impressive amount of material on improved banking is observable during 1932 and 1933 as indicated in the articles by Baker, Berle, Greenough, Hecht, Thomas, Soule, and the titles carrying the idea of unified control.

Of the handful of titles remaining, those by Justice Brandeis and W. J. Shepard are perhaps the most interesting and important, treating as they do the legal aspects of social-economic planning. "Denial of the right to experiment may be fraught with serious consequences to the nation."

Agricultural. (See *Rural and Land Planning*.) Eighty-one of the 102 titles discuss the American farm problem. Of the remaining twenty-one, eight are concerned with Russia, six with England, three with New Zealand, and four with countries in continental Europe.

This extensive list may be sub-divided somewhat as follows with allowance for considerable overlapping: (If an expected title does not appear in one group, it may be found in another)

	<i>Number of titles</i>
National Agricultural Program.....	13
Farm Relief.....	21
Domestic Allotment.....	25
Production Control.....	10
Marketing, Credit, Price-fixing.....	12
General Comprehensive.....	14
Agricultural Engineering.....	4
Farm Labor and Tenancy.....	3

Another tabulation reveals the years 1932 and 1933 as filled with agrarian interest. The first column shows the agricultural titles assembled in this present article and the second column includes the 77 titles in our article of a year ago (See Table III).

It may be stated in general that more attention has been given to cotton and wheat than to other products. Dairying, which has been causing the Administration much concern, has received relatively little consideration in the literature prior to July 1933.

TABLE III
INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF TITLES ON AGRICULTURE,
BY YEARS

	NUMBER OF TITLES IN THIS YEAR'S LIST	NUMBER OF TITLES IN THIS YEAR'S LIST COMBINED WITH 77 IN LAST YEAR'S LIST
1924.....	1	1
1925.....	2	3
1926.....	1	2
1927.....		2
1928.....		7
1929.....	4	18
1930.....	1	22
1931.....	3	29
1932.....	51	56
1933 (first half).....	39	39
Total.....	102	179

One hundred years ago Malthus prophesied a world economy of scarcity, a population limited by crops. Since his time strange forces have been at work. Too much land has been ploughed and cropped. Dr. O. E. Baker and Director of Production C. C. Davis of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration have pointed out that whereas the Industrial Revolution has been treated in hundreds of books, scarcely a volume has described the Agricultural Revolution in eastern Europe and western North America which transformed the grass lands into grain lands

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1933, p.

and supplied the food and fibers that made the Industrial Revolution possible.³ Farm machinery now produces a bushel of wheat with three minutes of easy human labor where the old-time farmer worked three hard hours for the same result. Also, for the country as a whole the birth-rate is declining and our farms will have fewer people to feed in years to come. The process can be summarized thus: Grass lands converted to crop lands; technological advance accompanying food-crop expansion; and fewer births. These three developments are now forcing the restriction of agricultural production and the application of planning to the farm problem.

The Farm Act of May 10, 1933—which embodies the Domestic Allotment idea of inducing active agricultural planning by way of voluntary, coöperative control of volume output among the farmers themselves, this coöperation to be made appealing by the redistribution to the farmers of funds derived from processing taxes—has already launched its attack upon surplus plantings of wheat, corn, cotton, and tobacco.

Industrial. Substantial literature on the National Industrial Recovery Act did not reach publication until after July 1933, the point at which our listing ends. For this reason only four citations are included here, and these are mainly comments and criticisms.

A half-dozen titles, some light and some heavy, consider the general economic phases of industrial planning. A popular periodical carries one on "The Craze for Planning." As for stabilization of industry, a French journal suggests an adequate system of social insurance as one important need for America; Dickenson looks to credit control and timed public

works, while Babson, Heermance, and Javits emphasize the possibilities in trade associations. In *The Industrial Discipline*, Tugwell suggests the integration of each industry through a governing board, together with a central body made up of associated industries, all of which would seek to achieve coördination and a common policy.

In the field of labor the material is marked by discussion of hours of labor, the question of rotating employment or shifts, wage scales, and collective bargaining.

England seems to be much more active in connection with decentralization of population and industries. In America, Baumgarten, in line with President Roosevelt's long-held views, sees possibilities for rehabilitating workers on part-time farms, such a plan to be made possible through creating smaller centers in semi-urban surroundings, as for instance Mr. Ford's experiments in Michigan.

About ten articles focus on public utilities, especially the water-power projects in the Tennessee and Saint Lawrence Valleys, several dealing specifically with Muscle Shoals. The thought that the government is "muscling" into the private preserves of power brings hope to some and fear to others. Should the government enter into competition with private utilities? The articles by M. L. Cooke, J. B. Eastman, and D. R. Richberg represent the affirmative trend. Planned control of natural resources through federal, state, or local ownership and operation will mean benefits for the whole people. To quote Richberg: "The faults of the economic system are clearly exemplified in the electrical industry with its holding companies and financial structure, its labor system and regulation." As an instance of one type of public operation, the Central Electricity-Board of England is cited by Eastman. In

³ See *Review of Reviews and World's Work*, December 1933, p. 19.

arguing for a federal planning board, Cooke points out that regulating bodies do not now have time or facilities to carry on research that is needed to get an accurate picture of the costs of electric service.

SOCIAL

Here is the distant, high peak of planning—sighted by those like Comte and Ward—to which all other forms are subordinate. Economic planning, regional planning, city planning, and others are merely lesser peaks that intervene on the cloddish way toward that which society wants but only dimly sees. Yet, for its tangled problems society finds no easy or early way out and up.

We have need for "more human understanding in structural planning; for social interpretations of engineering and architectural problems," says R. D. Kohn in expressing what is clearly a growing conviction of the engineering group. A glance at the titles by Thomas Adams, H. O. Rugg, and Mary Van Kleeck also indicates the present larger social emphasis. E. M. Burns points out that "the only country that has seriously taken up program planning is Russia which has declared its independence of the traditional attitudes." The book by Niles Carpenter is distinctly sociological with the reiteration that economic phases cannot be separated from the cultural structure and social changes which precede and control the purely economic aspects of life.

One of the problems that finds no remedy in any limited form of planning is that implied in Geoffrey Clark's article on the urban-rural antithesis. Here is to be noted the echo of Le Play, the folk-work-place emphasis, and the belief that coördination, the vital need of the times, must be the task of the sociologists, a task

beyond the province of the economist, the town planner, and the engineer.

The books by E. T. Devine and C. C. North focus the light of planning into the broad field of sprawling social problems. The volume by J. W. Herring, a story of social planning on a county basis, indicates what can be done by coördinated health and welfare programs along with well organized adult education. In *Prohibiting Poverty* recommendations are given for an occupational-age stratification, a novel monetary scheme, and other departures from traditional paths. The book by Ella Winter describes the New Russian methods in handling the major social problems.

Planning and prevention are kindred terms in the literature of social science in recent years. The thorny problem of crime has received attention primarily from sociologists, psychiatrists, a few prison wardens and police executives, along with a handful of lawyers in the background. The titles appearing in our present list are but a few samples of the many viewpoints. The New York plan for the reorganization and development of prison industries—a knotty sub-problem—is discussed in the unsigned *Survey* article, "Planning for Prisons."

Immigration, child welfare (grouped separately last year), and the handling of the physically and mentally deficient are among other problems of much complexity which require a multiple approach through social science. A few titles refer to these questions.

The point of view to be found in *Principles of Social Legislation* and in the articles by A. W. MacMillen and George Soule show clearly that *social planning* is but a shorter term for *sociological planning* and that it embraces far more than can be implied by any other designation. Eco-

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conomic and technical planning in themselves cannot adequately cover the field or answer the cumulative needs of our expanding civilization.

Government. The titles in this group range from suggestion and plans in the national government down through the region, state, and county to the city. Henry Hazlitt proposes a board of twelve directors instead of Congress, the President to be a member of this board with power to cast three votes. Hugh Peyton sees need for continuous planning in the reorganization of the national administration. In the articles by H. F. Byrd, G. W. Spicer, and R. H. Tucker, the state of Virginia is seen in the vanguard with definite reforms in state and local administration. County functions have been consolidated, minor offices have been abolished, and any county that so desires may have a county manager. This plan has recently been adopted by Albemarle County, the first unit in Virginia thus to readjust its government.

Considerable reference has been made to regional government as a feasible type of local administration, embracing counties, cities, and villages, and providing for the more general and costly services. This view has been set forth by T. H. Reed. As for the political machinery of the big city, the Seabury Plan embodies various reforms for New York, especially the simplification of structure by abolition of borough governments. That some form of the city manager plan is imperatively needed is rather common belief. At any rate the city manager group is not discouraged by Cleveland's defection. As for the fiscal aspects of city planning the articles by P. A. Bankson and H. B. Bleck touch upon some of the difficulties.

One-half the total number of titles in this group have to do with taxation. The

hostility to land and property taxes is as impressive as this form of levy is oppressive to those upon whom it falls. Back in 1926 H. F. Byrd, with the burdened agriculturalists in mind, favored the removal of the state tax on land and tangible personal property. Is the sales tax coming to stay? Some states seem to have found it more satisfactory than they had anticipated. Several of the articles call for relief by putting heavier taxes on sales, incomes, and inheritances.

Health. Socialized medicine has been forging ahead in Europe for some time. At the very beginning of their Five-Year Plan, the Soviets ventured ambitiously in the direction of equalized health facilities. That the far-reaching plans as described by Mary Reed in 1928 must have progressed rapidly toward the desired goal seems to be borne out in the article by J. A. Kingsbury in 1933. He believes that today "Russian medicine is ahead of that in the United States" and that it is "moving forward at a rate for which there is no comparison in America."

However, here in the United States the conviction is growing that the inequalities in sickness expense, the cost-burden of the middle-class, must be ironed out. While a considerable number of our physicians dread the idea of socialized medicine, or the contract type, fearing as they do a degeneration of medical ethics and skills, the literature indicates that informed opinion both lay and professional, is gradually away from the old individualistic tradition toward that of community responsibility for health. The purpose of philanthropic foundations that have been experimenting and demonstrating in city slum and rural county will not have been achieved until governmental support extends these privately endowed beginnings in general health into broad

applications under systematized public welfare. At least, this is the tenor of several contributors to our present list.

The book by Banu is a thoroughgoing treatment, internationally descriptive and planful, especially on maternity and infancy. Winslow's volume discusses an actual experiment in a rural district between 1923 and 1929, perhaps too short a period, to test whether sickness and mortality could be substantially reduced by "intensive application of health measures methodically planned." The grouping of industries into a single unit for joint health service is another working plan described by H. D. Brown.

Housing. Slum-clearance and the attendant building of homes for the lower income groups are the aspects of housing most frequently encountered in the literature, especially in the last eighteen months. England leads the way with a five-year program for which the government provides subsidies as a means of employment though some writers recognize that owing to the slowness of legislation much still depends on voluntary effort. In America plans are still in the piecemeal stage. Most writers agree with the Committee on Blighted Areas and Slums of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership in its conclusion that large-scale projects should at present be carried on by private enterprise, financed by private capital, that homes should not be constructed with public funds though under certain conditions the limited dividend corporation is favored. From one viewpoint municipal government and private enterprise may coöperate perhaps by means of a Board operating on lines of public utility societies.

Various economic factors are treated in nearly a third of the material, ranging from a plan for the formation of real

estate trusts as an antidote for private speculation, to coöperative apartments and mass construction, with descriptions of European state subsidy projects. Under technological developments we find such subjects treated as block and lot layouts, neighborhood units, functionalist housing, and pre-fabricated homes. A scattering of titles remains on Soviet housing policy, rural housing, and legal aspects of the problem.

Unemployment. Under this heading no attempt has been made to collect purely relief and emergency material which is so plentiful, but only that which has broader, long-term implications. Unemployment Insurance (and Reserves) plans are to be found under *Social Insurance*. Employment appears as a factor in projects for industry, housing, regional and city planning; in fact it is hardly too much to say that most planning literature under all headings stresses the utilization of labor to an increasing degree, a trend markedly prominent in the last few months. *Unemployment* is to be found as a subject, and with a rapidly growing list of references, in the indexes of current literature, and furnishes food for discussion in the meetings of widely divergent groups, as among social scientists and applied branches of the physical sciences.

The plans here listed deal mainly with stabilization of labor, public works and made work, with frequent reference to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Several titles face unemployment as a world problem, to be met by national and international planning, by such means as long-range public works projects, adjustment of the disequilibrium between wages and productivity, and employment stabilization and exchange.

Social Insurance. Recent articles indicate that industrial pension plans in the United States show four main develop-

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ments: a marked increase in the number of plans maintained on a reserve basis, a great increase in the amount of money set aside for reserves, an increase in plans handled by life insurance companies, and a trend toward contributory plans. Old age pension plans here and abroad are described and legislation analyzed. The French Social Insurance Plan is appraised as successful after a two-year trial, in spite of the fact that it is partly responsible for strikes in the textile and iron industries of the North.

A large proportion of the material deals with unemployment insurance, either as an item of management in a single industry as in the National Electric Manufacturers' Association, or as a unit in the solution of insecurity which challenges America, according to Epstein. Social insurance in its common meaning

includes sickness insurance, old-age and invalidity pensions, workmen's compensation, and subsidies for mothers and children. The books by Armstrong and Cohen indicate the great American lag in this matter.

Some of the recent developments are the capitulation of organized labor to unemployment compensation and the development of plans for unemployment reserves, designed to meet serious and prolonged periods of depression.

The November 1933 issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 170, is devoted to a consideration of the principles, practicality, and effects of social insurance under the headings: Unemployment Insurance or Compensation. Old Age Pensions, and Health Insurance.

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⁵ See "List of References on Regional, City and Town Planning with special reference to the Tennessee Valley Project," 423 items, Library of Congress August 28, 1933, arranged by Florence S. Hellman. In addition to two pages of cited bibliographies on various phases of planning, it contains considerable material on rural and urban planning here and abroad. It should be noted also that in this *Regional, General* grouping there is comparatively little that can properly be considered regional planning in its broadest sense.

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